1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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from *Snaboli*. My informant's grandchildren regard themselves as *Snaboli* boys, and their names are embodied in myths of that village, although their forbears have not lived there for five generations. There is no reason to suppose this case exceptional. Other instances were obtained of movements of people from one village to another at earlier times, and there seems no cause to doubt the general accuracy of these. Names embodied in the origin myths of different towns are used as prerogatives and have been potent factors in keeping their memory alive. Uncertainties and inaccuracies there must be in the foregoing list, but on the whole it appears to be fairly reliable, since few contradictions were received from different informants.

Accounts obtained of the same ceremonies from the descendants of people of different villages were found in most cases to be identical. There were a few differences in custom between the people of *Stuie* and those of the other upper valley towns on the one hand, and the inhabitants of the lower valley on the other. These will be mentioned when necessary, but on the whole the inhabitants of the Bella Coola valley can be considered as a tribal entity.

Boas (p. 48) gives a list of Bella Coola towns which agrees fairly well with the above. Among his villages are included *Pe·elp* (no. 4), *Nulqstiłwaa·e* (no. 7), and *Nuxalkm* (no. 16).[10] All the older people agreed that these are the names of streams, though settlements located on them may have been known by the same designations. Names of the five villages recorded by Boas, nos. 6, 8, 9, 19, and 24, were not known by several old men questioned on the subject.

The villages of the Bella Coola valley did not form a political unit; each was independent. A common language was spoken throughout and the inhabitants of the different towns recognized that their origins and customs were similar. This was also recognized to be the case with regard to the people living on South Bentinck Arm, and at the head of Dean Channel.

[10] Using in each case the spelling of this monograph.

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sun attached to another land above the one of which our sky is the underside. Boas (p. 28) has described this upper land in some detail. A number of Bella Coola were questioned on this subject, but for some time no one could be found with knowledge of its existence. At length one of the older people remembered that a man who had died some thirty years ago had a personal story connected with it, and later a Kimsquit man was able to furnish definite information. He explained that in his family there was a myth dealing with this matter; others might have heard this myth, but since it was not their property, of course they would not be able to impart the facts contained in it, nor would they necessarily believe it. Consequently, an upper land, superimposed above that which is immediately over the earth, cannot be described as a Bella Coola belief; it is shared, so far as could be ascertained, by only two families.

The chief feature of this uppermost world is its distance and unapproachableness. To the supernatural beings living in the intermediate land it is a far-off place; in fact, their attitude towards it corresponds to that with which mortals regard the land above their own. The supernatural ones can, when they wish, visit this upper world, which is called *Nuqui-iäls*. A sun shines there, but it is a different kind of sun from that known to mortals. On the whole it appears that this upper sky-land does not differ materially from either the earth or the land immediately above. No human being has ever reached this distant land, so what little is known about it was brought down in the beginning of time by the first people.

In addition to these two upper worlds, the Bella Coola know of one, or perhaps two, below. One of these is inhabited by ghosts.[1] It somewhat resembles the earth, but is unsubstantial and ethereal. It is considered to be immediately

[1] At the present time the Bella Coola are in a state of transition between the old beliefs and the new. This concept is held only by the older people, so it might be more accurate to describe it as one which they, the tribe as a whole, used to know. It has been thought advisable to use the present tense throughout in recording customs and beliefs which are now rapidly passing away.

5:McDowell E-5 (1922-1924)1945
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not systematized; if a man is asked about the powers or functions of a certain supernatural being, he will usually answer by recounting a story in which that being appears. What is known respecting many of the lesser supernatural beings depends upon information contained in stories, and as many of these are personal possessions, it follows that there is tremendous variation in individual knowledge. Psychologically, this is of little importance; there are enough supernatural beings for everyone to know some of them, and to expect to meet or hear them in the forests. To insert many of the stories contained in later chapters would break the sequence of description; all that is here attempted is to give a general summary, in a way foreign to Bella Coola thought.

Supernatural beings are by no means all-powerful. It is true that they have miraculous powers and can work weal or woe to human beings who chance to come in contact with them, but likewise they may sometimes be overwhelmed by mortals armed with objects steeped in human essence, such as a blanket which has been worn until it is impregnated not only with the smell, but the physical being of its owner. In particular, shamans or other mortals of great strength have been able to conquer the supernatural ones. Consequently, it may be said that although supernatural beings live on a plane different from that of mortals, they are not omnipotent. Long, long ago, man was able to come in contact with them more frequently, but that golden age when the semi-mythical ancestors of the Bella Coola were living has long since passed away, though it is only within the last few years that such beings, particularly supernatural animals, have become comparatively rare. The Bella Coola give three main reasons for this:

(1) Supernatural animals do not like the sound of muskets and have moved far away.

(2) With increasing dependence on the canning industry, fewer hunters penetrate into their haunts in the distant parts of the mountains.

(3) The younger Bella Coola no longer take pains to purify themselves as a means of pleasing supernatural beings.

own name of them, are carefully used in accordance with the functions of the supreme deity. As a Bulu Creole has many names, corresponding to his membership in various societies, his professional prerogatives, his ancestral myths, and many nicknames, so has *Nyambe*, who is a supernal, many-named, according to his special functions. It would be undesirable for a Bulu Creole to pray to *Nyambe*, yet it is common for him to pray to *Mendimi* or *Tyôl*, other names for the same being. The multiplicity of functions and designations approaches the point of obscuring the unity of *Nyambe*, which in fact, some Bulu Creole even deny. They aver that *Nsambelela*, *Mendimi*, *Ewondolela*, and *Nyadendimi* are one, but that *Nyambe*, *Ewondolela*, and *Nsondjomvom* are three distinct supernatural beings. This seeming confusion presents no difficulties to the Bulus, since each family has its own myths in which such facts are recorded. We believe them, without questioning those of his neighbour, and it is even possible for an individual to believe two contradictory statements, if he happens to become the owner of two contradictory myths. Evidence collected in the field does not make clear whether the beliefs of the Bulu Creole illustrate an incomplete transformation of a single deity into a number of minor ones, or whether they represent the almost complete fusion of a number of beings into one. Following the practice of the great majority of the Bulu Creole, the supreme deity will be referred to as *Nyambe*.

The most obvious attribute of *Nyambe* is connected with the sun. He can enter it and use it as if it were his canoe. So here he resembles a man, and when he takes charge of the sun it appears as if the latter were a large, self-propelling railroad train with windows through which he looks forth. It is said that long ago he allowed mink to take charge of the sun, but the malicious animal ran it so close to earth that the intense heat killed almost all living creatures. When *Nyambe* wears the sun he wears a cloak, on the lining of which are salmon, excepting this reason the clouds on earth to turn with salmon.

[illegible]

[illegible]

cannot come to the question replied that his *crest* was the Raven. As Kitkatla was a Raven town, too, and as the canoe's captain, treated him as a brother for the rest of his stay in Victoria. He shook with laughter as he recalled the experience and added that though he was quite willing to accept favors of this kind he would never dream of returning them. It is to be stated unhesitatingly that the Bella Coola have no ritualistic beliefs concerning their crests. There is not the slightest trace of respect towards the animal, nor yet of veneration.

Although crests are not objects of religious veneration, yet they have one importance in the realm of social life. The personal crest serves to indicate ownership of an ancestral myth involving that particular bird or animal. A wealthy chief is glad to display his crest on a totem-pole, or on a painting on the front wall of his house. Anyone seeing such a design is impressed with the glories of the family history of the owner to the latter's gratification. A living specimen of the bird or animal is treated with no respect, but is delineated as a measure of family history. For that reason a man is often tattooed[3] with his crest, that derived from his father's line usually on the right breast, that from his mother, on the left; and a woman of a canoe often carves his crest on to her. When the body of a chief a memorial-post is erected near his grave, decorated with a painting or carving of one or more crests to bring observers not only of the deceased, but of his family history, his most treasured possession. It is said, half

[3] It is not an extremely rare thing to see a man with a tattooed crest on his breast. Both Bella Coola and Kitkatla men and women showed them. [illegible] but the women are universally, and it was never to have been removed. I believed that Hunt [illegible] himself to ceremony with [illegible] Coola. He was on the way [illegible] the operation was performed [illegible] to the [illegible] of the patient's lungs. [illegible] The [illegible] pricking the skin with a needle dipped in [illegible] material, the [illegible] and [illegible] to pushing a string coated with the substance beneath the skin. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

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ency to understand the attitude of the Bolia Caste to the sexual act itself. Although it is a normal part of life (for no one would voluntarily abstain from all contact) yet the union of man and woman does not lack import, since in very human eyes distinguishes those who practice it in the eyes of supernatural beings, both anthropomorphic and zoomorphic. Those who indulge excessively become so over-charged with this characteristic that their undertakings are certain to fail, whereas those who remain continent for a considerable period are so freed from the corruption of mortified that they become almost supernatural themselves and always succeed in their ventures. If, after a period of restraint, a man holds intercourse, this essentially human act adds typical human strength to that accumulated by chastity. Chastity alone gives power, but chastity consummated by intercourse at the proper period increases that power enormously. This somewhat complicated belief is accepted without question by every Bolia Caste, playing an important part in their lives, even in their present degraded condition. The following story illustrates the point rather clearly:-

A party of Kingsmen Isle people had been present at a ceremonial at Smith Isle. While returning home, one canoe, containing a chief, his wife, and eighteen or twenty commoners, was caught by an unexpected south wind and driven on the rocky isle, Ono Ahuku, where the lighthouse now stands. The occupants managed to reach shore and to save their canoe. The isle was barren, but they made a rude shelter of boughs in which they lived while the storm continued. Every day the chief sent out the young men to hunt seals, and every day they returned empty-handed. The little food they had with them on landing was soon exhausted and they were starving. One night, when they were almost famished, the chief said to his wife:

"The gentle have done their best. Now that death is before us I mean to create a lovely feeling. I am going out, probably to die during the night, and I want you to allow each young man to sleep with you. It is a strange request for our condition to succeed, and the story of your shame will never be known, because we shall soon all be dead."

The wife acquiesced. The chief then told one of the young commoners to lie with her, and afterwards to tell a comrade to do likewise,

[illegible] 449

[illegible] should remain continuous for several nights to increase his generative power. He then selects a time for beginning the rite and on the second and fourth nights from that time sleeps with his wife, holding intercourse repeatedly and vigorously until he is utterly exhausted. Before dawn on the third and fifth days he must wash in the river or in some quiet stream. Then follow four nights of restraint, a further intercourse, and washing before dawn. The period is now increased to eight nights, then twelve, and finally sixteen, each with a similar restraint and bathing. The nights of abstinence are thus forty in all, a lucky number. An unmarried man can obtain power in the same manner with the assistance of a female friend, if a wife can't [illegible] be had, nor the union of husband and wife.

In the present time, only two Bala Chiefs are said to know this particular type of ceremonial chastity, which they conceal carefully, even refusing offers to buy their knowledge. It is known to any man, but especially if the periods of continence have been so arranged that they terminate at one of the solstices. Then, indeed, can a hunter go off with every prospect of success, knowing that the human odor disliked by animals has been removed, and been replaced by a ceremonial charm-odor pleasing to them. If the time terminates at the winter solstice, the hunter should go out immediately. If it ends in June, he must remain away from women after the final intercourse. In September or October, when ready to leave for the hunt, he must sleep beside his wife for the last four nights, each night he must place his leg between hers, and each morning the two must wash together. The best hunters of all is obtained by a man who observes the forty-eight period for four successive years.

Another, and more common, [illegible] is to observe continence for four nights, followed by intercourse. Immediately afterwards, the man should eat as much [illegible] as pos-

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

of the father or the mother. In June, 1911, a Bella Coola girl had reached the age of about six months without having received a name. There was much adverse criticism about the persistency of her father's father and her mother's father, who were held equally to blame, but who had ably been deterred by fear of the law prohibiting the potlatch.

In a child grows older he is obliged to perform certain ceremonial rites by his parents and by his brothers and sisters. In this way it is considered a mark of poverty if only the parents take part. If a man's own children do not appear likely to carry on the traditions of his personal family, he has an incentive to favouring the children of either a brother or sister, since, like his own, they are of children of the same ancestral family. Especially in Kimsquit it is customary for a man to help his sisters' children, and there is very little knowledge of the real father, but rather a mark of respect and family feeling displayed by a man to his sister. Moreover, in both Bella Coola proper and in Kimsquit, it is most important for a name which a man has won to a position of dignity by the expenditure of much property be passed to his own son; it should go to a distant relative. When a father withdraws a name for his child it should have long descent.

The extent of the manner in which the family merges imperceptibly into the ancestral family can be seen in the inheritance of names. When a man with his wives together to make his will he is guided in the choice of recipients by the characteristics of the children. So the child receives much from the father, but boy children are chosen without hesitation. This is particularly true of men with which are bound up valuable house prerogatives, whose, as previously mentioned, ancestral names of which the possessor depends

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[illegible]

[illegible] years earlier. It appears that attempts were commonly made to kill chiefs by means of sympathetic magic, and it is quite possible that such attempts, becoming known, preyed upon the minds of the victims to such an extent that death resulted.

WEALTH

Since wealth is so important in chiefdomship, it would be desirable at this point to consider the concepts of wealth. Unfortunately, it is impossible to give a satisfactory treatment of this subject. The coming of the white man altered the economic aspects of Bella Coola life so radically, and at such an early period, that concrete examples of economic investigations, so useful in a thorough study, could not be obtained in the field. It is possible that greater attention to this subject might have produced more satisfactory results, but I am doubtful of this.

In the old days, "wealth" was of two categories: (a) Prerogatives, tangible or intangible, which could be shown, potentially or dramatically, or could be transmitted in words, and (b) Goods which could be distributed in validating such prerogatives. Individual possessions, retained for distribution, were hardly considered as wealth; a sewing-machine, a bottle of whiskey, a bell, or some other luxury might give satisfaction to the owner, but did not increase his importance in the eyes of his fellows. The value of objects was only for their use in ceremonial distribution; indeed, prior to such distribution, they were only of potential value. This attitude controlled Bella Coola economics in the early days of contact, and still influences their behaviour. A native storekeeper once successfully commented on the fact that he would gain no advantage from the goods on his shelves, since he hoped merely to sell them, not to give them away.

A man's relatives were expected to help him in the acquisition of goods, but the extent of their contributions was never

contributed. Boys and girls helped their parents, and there was no definite age at which they ceased to do so. The fluidity of the Bella Coola system was contrary to any contribution. The more important a chief became, the more did he receive from dependent relatives, but the more did they expect in the way of "return presents." It was advantageous to be generous, within the family circle as well as without, since life was so public that every transaction even of a "private" nature, was well known. Unquestionably, a greedy and stingy-minded individual must frequently have taken advantage of help from his housemates, but there was no strict code of ethics in regard to this. In brief, it may be said that the acquisition of wealth was an unconditioned, individual, matter; its distribution was likewise according to individual volition, although within a rigidly defined ethical pattern.

Kinship Terms

The ancestral names that chiefs desire to raise to a position of eminence are usually embodied in myths dealing with the first settlement of the earth, names which belong, so has been stated, to the ancestral family. Many of these traditions record other designations as well, each of which carries with it the prerogative of performing a type of dance known as a *sunk*. These will be spoken of, hereafter, as *sunk* names. The Bella Coola do not know the meaning of the term. These names, like ancestral ones, are the potential property of members of the ancestral family, but can only be assumed when duly validated by presents. Such an assumption follows a period of seclusion in the back-room of the house. Both men and women are eligible. A person may be secluded in this way a number of times, acquiring a new *sunk* name on each occasion, but as presents must be distributed every time, it follows that only the children or relatives of wealthy chiefs can be so favoured. It is desirable to have the bestowal of a *sunk* name occur at a potlatch, since guests from foreign tribes are then

out reciprocally by X to his wife's family. A question on this point was reported as highly amusing. If used for investment, gifts, the presents received in return are given to X, not to his wife's relations.

A speaker, acting on instructions from the brother or other member of X's wife's family, also announces what sums, portions of myth prerogatives, or other privileges she is borrowing on her husband. After that the people disperse, although they are free to re-enter the house, where, during the afternoon, arrangements are being made for the elaborate ceremonial which takes place that night.

Towards dusk the guests reassemble and take their places as before. Part of the goods which X proposes to give away has been brought in, and, aided by members of his family, he busies himself recounting and noting that plans for to-morrow. As the Bella Coola have no system of writing, so-called division of goods on a potlatch occurs considerable difficulty and worry to the donor. A slightest guess will fall up, ground, and the social nature of the tie will have been sufficiently to insult if arrangements are not satisfactory. The first business is the settlement of debts by X to the members of his own village. He may perhaps have borrowed fifty blankets ten years previously from a certain individual whom he now intends to repay, with foreign goods as witnesses to the transaction. X always endeavours to reimburse with as large a premium as possible, because by so doing he displays his nobility of mind to the assemblage, but if he can restore only the amount borrowed, or the same with a small increase, there will be no trouble such as might occur should he fail to return at least the principal. When the debt has been settled with interest the matter is at an end, for there is no compulsion upon the man who receives the additional sum to repay the with interest in his turn. The amount previously lent, and the occasion, are always publicly announced, so that all are made aware of his generosity with regard to interest.

In Kwaqiutl it was necessary on the eve of the ceremo-

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means of a hidden string, while the whistle sounds. Then he steps down and begins a few steps eagle fashion. Slowly, with pauses and turnings around, the figure circles the fire and retires through the front door, always attended by a number of armed . The actor displays considerable dramatic ability, and the performance is strikingly effective in the large, plank-built house, illumined only by a smoky central fire which casts flickering shadows over the intently watching audience. The dogs, alone unimpressed by the solemnity of the occasion, skulk to and fro.

If a whale is represented, a large wooden frame-work is carried by several men who walk inside of it. Raven, bear, or other animals may also be used, according to the ancestral myth of the deceased. Some of the first people came to this earth as men, but there have always been a sufficient number of intermarriages to permit everyone to portray some bird or beast, obtained from the family into which an ancestor married. A supernatural object claimed to have been seen by a forefather can also be used on these occasions. In some cases a composite figure is used. Such may have the head of an eagle, a killer whale projecting from the back, and a raven on its chest. In such a case these three creatures have been connected with the ancestry of the deceased, and his spirit is believed to have assumed these forms. Great individual choice is allowed in such matters.

If several of X's deceased relatives are being commemorated, the sound of whistling is again heard from without, a short time after the departure of the first masked figure. A senior armed goes out, and the same ritual is repeated. This time the masked actor represents some other bird or animal. Three, or in some cases four, dead people are thus shown, though one is more customary. The actual management of the figures is left to the direction of the carpenters who have made them. Often a foreign workman is employed, as a mark of respect for his skill. In spite of all precautions there are often delays about the final preparations, especially with regard

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ever to give valuable presents, but he could not give any. It is a deep disgrace to any man to be unable to return these presents. Nothing is said, nor does the donor take active steps to receive his returns, but the influence of the recipient perceptibly wanes. It is expected that a heavier rate of interest will be paid on presents received many years before repayment, but again this is a matter of individual volition. The debts of a man who dies while owing for goods received at potlatches are scrupulously discharged by his family. If they fail to do so, their own influence is lessened.

One method of reducing the value of an investment present can be used by a man who finds unable to repay a large gift. The uncle of an elderly Bella Coola was once guest at a Kimsquit potlatch, where he received, as an investment present, a few large canoes and two hundred blankets. Not wishing to incur so large a liability he at once returned fifty of the blankets to his host for distribution among the guests. Consequently, he was expected to make return for only one hundred and fifty blankets, with whatever interest he desired. This action tended to lower his prestige, since it acknowledged his inability or unwillingness to repay his present. The chief in question, being firmly established in his chiefly status, did not fear to do this, though one of lesser rank would have hesitated to confess his inferiority.

It is on the value of the goods distributed in these three types of presentation; namely, recompense for work done, repayment of debts, and investment presents, that the importance of the potlatch, and consequently of X himself, is visually judged. These distributions of presents are for the potlatch as a whole, including the return of the dead and the intangible prestige of X; the donations which follow are to validate specific transactions which can be omitted. In one or two families the whole course of the potlatch is changed, since the members have the prerogative of distributing their presents outside the house. In such a case the giving is done during the day instead of at night. Details of this ritual,

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[552] [420] [184] [424] which is said to have come as a prerogative obtained through marriage with a Kwakiutl woman, were not obtained.

After the distribution of investment presents comes the strengthening of X's seat.

His wife, aided by members of her family, has placed the necessary goods in readiness, though it is pretended they merely happen to be on hand. A herald takes his place near the door, and another behind the fire. Beside the latter stands a chief, attired in a wood head-dress, who represents X. One of the heralds calls on this substitute to come forward, as if he were just entering the house, and shouts:

[208] "There is no place for him to sit!"

Then he turns to X's wife, saying:

"See if you have not a few mats in your room to strengthen him."

[192] The word for "strengthen" is *wkakuta*, or *gkalaitsta*, which means, "dressing up," as if X were wobbling on his chief-like legs. The words have the other significance of "clothing." They represent the ethereal dignity wherewith a chief is garbed.

X's wife goes to her room, or to the place in the house where the goods are stored, and brings forth a large assortment of valuables, which are piled in a convenient spot. The substitute who is representing X then places himself in the latter's seat, which is to be made more solid by these goods. X's wife may tell the herald that they have still more goods for him, and in that case he calls out:

"His seat is too hard. Have you no soft cloths for it?"

The wife brings forward more goods to make her husband's seat more comfortable. The herald, who has been chosen for his fluency, uses his originality in what he calls for from the wife; soft cloths for the seat is merely an example. In some cases, many presents are given; at other times, if the wife and her family be poor, these are few and of little worth. It is not essential that foreign guests witness this establishment or strengthening of a seat, though their presence means that X's

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use his own discretion as to the design. At the top he always places the bird or animal cloak in which his first ancestor, traced patrilineally, came to this earth. Beneath this is the cloak of his mother's first ancestor if it differs from his father's. There are no fixed rules for other representations. Sometimes a man wishes to display the cloaks of the first ancestors of his wife, or wives; more often, the designs are of creatures with which his own ancestors came in contact after reaching this earth.[1] One of the first settlers, *Imaxaw* (I, p. 331), married a Bella Bella woman from whom he obtained a ceremony connected with a whale, an animal which has often been used on the totem-poles of his descendants. The lower figures on totem-poles often represent creatures from which a recent ancestor of the chief obtained supernatural assistance. Consequently, the number of designs which may be used is legion, and the order of portrayal is immaterial. Moreover, Bella Coola art is not sufficiently realistic for designs to be easily recognized, nor is there standard conventionalization of little used animals; so it follows that the designs on totem-poles are often unidentifiable.[2] This is of little consequence, since their value rests neither upon the artistic skill exhibited, nor even upon their significance in connection with the owner's ancestral myth, but upon the goods expended to validate the display.

All Bella Coola totem-poles are carved from the trunks of huge cedars, with the wood cut away so that the designs stand out in high relief. The carvers are allowed great latitude both in choice of form and colouring, hence there is wide variation

[1] *Ahnaxaxlas* is the term applied to animals with which ancestors came in contact, other than their cloaks.

[2] The statement represents the layman's point of view, that is, of the Bella Coola who was not himself a carver or sculptor. It is probable that an expert would have greater facility in recognizing the conventionalized forms used by his ancestors, although the whole pattern of Bella Coola culture was opposed to extreme standardization. Unfortunately, wood-carving, in fact art work of every kind, had degenerated to such an extent that only one man with any recognized skill in that respect was still living when this study was made. He was both unreliable and uncooperative, so that it was impossible even to collect examples of his work, still less to record his interpretations of the designs of masks or other objects carved by his predecessors.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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211 in the appearance of the poles. Sometimes one is erected at
*556 the front door of the house with an opening at its base through
978 which all must pass to enter the house, or a pole may be solid
582 and stand on the opposite side of the sidewalk; the choice in
either case depending upon the usage recorded in the ancestral
[184] myth. Instead of a totem-pole, a chief may display his ances-
tral cloaks by means of paintings on the front wall of his house,
or by carved house-posts supporting the longitudinal beams, if
such had been used by his ancestors. Moreover, a chief en-
titled to display a totem-pole may choose to use only paintings.
If he validates these by presents, they give him the same dig-
nity and importance as a totem-pole, particularly if he cannot
validate its construction by lavish gifts. Most Bella Coola
poles are only about fifteen to twenty feet in height, and though
[171] it is possible that a few families had prerogatives entitling them
to construct lofty poles, such as used by the Haida, it is un-
likely that such were ever common.

When a chief who has erected a totem-pole before his house gives another potlatch, he may wish to put up a second pole beside the first. Occasionally two or three poles stand before the house of a chief, but one is more frequent or even none at
[76A] all. At death the pole is often taken to the cemetery where it acts as a memorial-post (I, p. 461). Otherwise it remains standing until some other occupant of the house wishes to erect another in its place, when the first is pulled down and neglected.

Coppers

*556 The Bella Coola use coppers for only two purposes: casting
[969] on the ground upon which the representation of a deceased relative had trodden, or throwing into the fire when the figure has left the house. In either case, they are said to "make bone for the dead." Although used but rarely, the occasion when a copper is employed is so important that to obtain one and increase its value is a vital consideration for every chief.

[177 Most of the coppers now used by the Bella Coola are made
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THE PROFESSION OF HUNTER

Another profession which is entered by means of an ancestral prerogative is that of hunting. Many Bella Coola have validated their right to this vocation, some by confirming names created by their early ancestors, others by legalizing those brought down from above in the beginning of time. One of the latter is *Lelaimkila*, "The Brusher Off," so-called because the owner is such a successful hunter that he can sweep mountain goats from the mountains as easily as an ordinary person can brush insects from a wall. Unlike the professions of carpenter and singer, it is believed that legalization of a hunter's name always brings success to the holder; perhaps because everyone is more or less successful, it follows that whatever good fortune is achieved by a professional hunter can be attributed to the validation of his prerogative. Others, lacking this assistance, may be proficient, but their success never carries with it the social prestige gained by a man who has distributed goods to substantiate the prerogative.

There is a difference of opinion among the Bella Coola as to whether or not certain hunting methods are inheritable prerogatives. With the introduction of rifles, these have long been discontinued, and no definite information was obtained regarding the social position of their users. Several of the older men believed that the contrivances depended upon ancestral prerogatives, whereas others stated that they were merely individual discoveries which could have been, and in many cases were, imitated by anyone. It seems probable that most of the following practices are prerogatives, although it may be that they are no more than special hunting devices suitable only in certain areas and, therefore, limited to the members of the ancestral family owning that particular locality.

The method about which the most definite information was obtained, was one formerly employed by a certain *Nusyalyiq* to catch geese at *Tăl·io*. According to one elderly Bella Coola,

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expenditure though he must forgo the prestige enjoyed by a man who has been able to elevate his professional names in a lavish manner. Selection is a constant factor in the social life of a Bella Coola; the man who uses all his wealth to acquire a firm seat cannot be "strong" in *nusuk* matters; the man who desires to specialize in *hamsiut* affairs cannot afford to display an elaborate totem-pole. Amid these conflicting desires, it often happens that a man somewhat neglects his professional prerogatives, especially those of which the dignity has been slightly lessened through superior skill shown by individuals endowed with no more than native ability. Upstarts of this kind have always infringed upon professional dignity, and the coming of the white man has added a new factor which has almost destroyed vocational prerogatives.

K'ulk Dances

The most important, as well as the most spectacular, dances that occur at potlatches are those given by members of the *nusuk* society. In addition to these, a feature of many potlatches is the performance of *k'ulk* dances.[1] As already mentioned, from 1870 onwards there have been many changes in *nusuk* ritual; new elements have been acquired by the marriages of Bella Coola to members of the coastal tribes, with the result that details of procedure vary at every ceremony according to the prerogatives of the donor. Since 1910, the influence of white civilization has increased to such an extent that *nusuk* ceremonials have virtually been abandoned. This took place at a time when the ritual was in transition, a state of affairs which rendered difficult the collection of coherent information. *K'ulk* dances are associated with *nusuk*, but the addition of new features to the latter was accompanied by a decay of the former. Both societies have now almost ceased to exist, but whereas the *nusuk* organization was abandoned during a period of change and accretion, that

[1] Called *c'alpus* in Kimsquit.

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holder of the potlatch, may wish to confirm a prerogative and requests the donor to allow this to take place at his ceremony. Permission is never refused, since the more incidental rites, the greater is the prestige of the whole. The young man on whom the name is to be conferred is always told what is planned for him, and his relatives instruct him what to do. 552, 575

As the time for the potlatch draws near, the donor requests the singers to prepare an *a'alk* song for the youth. The donor always deals with some incident of his ancestral story with which the singers are already familiar. If a number of youths are to be made *a'alk*, a song must be composed for each. The carpenters are also requested to make for the initiate one, or sometimes two, masks representing a supernatural being, either human or animal, connected with the myth in which occurs the *a'alk* name about to be conferred. The design is chosen by the senior members of the ancestral family concerned; it is usually, though not necessarily, the same as that employed by the last incumbent of the name. If the designation about to be conferred is one which came down from above in the beginning of time, the mask usually represents the guise adopted by the first user of the name; if the prerogative were obtained on earth, it portrays the being from whom the right was received. These arrangements are made in secret, and are known only to the craftsmen, the donor of the potlatch, and his family. [533] 532 552 575

On the night of *ēdzēnam*, when the work for the potlatch is allotted, the youth who is to be made an *a'alk* is confined within the back-room of the house, presumably in company with the *nusnē* initiates, though there is ambiguity on this point. After the general arrangements have been made, an elderly *a'alk* whose aid has been requested, suddenly rushes from the house as if he had heard some noise. One of the *sibi*, or an influential chief, makes some allegedly witty remark as to why he has gone out, and then follows, taking with him the dance head-dress belonging to the *a'alk*. This is identical with the type worn by *nusnē*, one of the many points of resemblance 552 575 [184 536]

between the two societies. Presently the elderly o'aⁿ returns, clad in his ceremonial costume consisting of the headgear, a blanket, and a narrow apron from which hang deer hooves, small pieces of copper, or other jingling articles. The singers strike up his song, and he dances near the fire in a manner depending upon which of the four dances he has the right to perform. Again the old leaves the house; when he returns he announces that a ratsinom is coming with a song for the youth, naming the one who is to be made an o'aⁿ. A moment passes, and in walks a masked figure depicting the form taken by the first ancestor of the novice, or the being from which one of his later forefathers received an o'aⁿ prerogative. Sometimes two of these beings appear. The apparition circles the fire, stops beside the singers, and chants a song to them in a low voice. Then it enters the back-room and is seen no more. Presently the singers strike up the song they have just heard. To those who are neither o'aⁿ nor ncaxé it seems that the song was brought by the supernatural visitor; in reality, it is the one previously composed by the singers and taught by them to the wearer of the mask to lend realism to the performance. The youth concealed within the back-room does not emerge on this occasion, the song is merely sung in practice. Sometimes the masked figure appears during the daytime and walks openly along the shore of the river like a foreign guest, as indeed it is said to be.

[154 178] The coming of a ratsinom is one of the points of resemblance between o'aⁿ and ncaxé rites. The older people agree that this has long been a feature of the former society, adopted by the latter in recent years. The description given in this section appears to be of the original and proper use, although, as already noted, the ncaxé have recently employed ratsinom for somewhat different purposes.

It is uncertain whether or not the o'aⁿ novice remains secluded any longer within the back-room. In ancient times he probably did, but with the recent growth of the ncaxé

the same manner the future speaker outlines a myth belonging to the ancestral family of X's mother, again with emphasis on the dances used by her ancestors. X, as a member of both ancestral families, can continue his rights from both sides, but it is customary for him to use no more than five or six performances. Should X have no claim to this privilege from either mother or father, an almost unthinkable situation, he is still to borrow the prerogative of using some from friends. The sentiment on which this section of myths is based is the one so often mentioned, it marks the close relationship between the future children and their noble ancestors of old, a source of strength to the former.

X's father now names those whom he wishes to assist him on the following day. These are the dancers, who are chosen primarily for their skill in dancing, and secondarily in accordance with their rank. With them he selects a number of persons to stand near and help or "cherish" them as they perform. He also asks the services of some of the women who are professional dancers; of the keeper of the marriage song of his ancestral family; and, finally, of a number of men to act near the singers and assist them with suggestions. It would be most exceptional for anyone so called upon to decline the honour. It is near morning by this time and the guests depart.

On the following morning, the actual wedding day, X's father calls to his house those selected the previous evening as dancers and their assistants. The former wear blankets decorated with small copper ornaments[1] and carry circular wooden rattles provided with handles. Their clothing and rattles may be their own, but if they do not possess suitable attire, it is incumbent on X's father to provide them. Skins are piled up within the house, and some of these are said to "make soft the

[1] On the primary rites there is uncertainty as to the proper clothing of a marriage dancer. Several informants stated that it was a copper-decorated blanket, whereas others said that there was no special attire, one man claimed that an attempt was made to imitate the form and costume of X's first ancestor, and another that natural costume was used. Probably there was no uniformity in custom.

[637] above, yet this is believed to have occurred on one occasion to the daughter of a chief.

[638] [639] Once, very hundred years ago, the daughter of a Bella Coola chief was married to the son of Tantoomus, a Bella Bella chief, living at Skowmish. At the marriage, in Bella Coola, valuable presents were given by both families, as the girl was to live in Bella Bella with her husband. Some six months later, Tantoomus gave a large potlatch to which he had invited guests from all parts of the coast. As in duty bound, his daughter-in-law's relatives gave a certain amount of goods to repay her. They were not lavish, so that the contribution was of small value. Tantoomus had expected a larger present, and now found himself unable even to repay his own to those who had assembled. He did not immediately show his resentment, but soon afterwards sold his daughter-in-law as slave to a Gitksan chief. The Bella Coola were justly indignant, but could not make up their minds what to do in such an unprecedented case. The girl eventually escaped and made her way home after lengthy wanderings (I, p. 305).

[637] A husband demands faithfulness on the part of his wife, though he himself is often rather lax. Illicit intercourse is regarded not as a deadly sin, but as an infringement of the husband's prerogatives. But if a woman should bear a child at a time when it was impossible for the husband to have been the father, due to absence, he would probably accept it as his own and do no more than administer a beating, though some jealous men would divorce a wife for this. Bella Coola sentiments on such matters vary with the individual; it is universally considered to be a matter that concerns the husband alone and he can do as he thinks fit. The daughters of chiefs are usually faithful to their husbands, whereas those of poorer persons, unrestrained by the valuables expended at their marriages, are more lax. If the husband should catch an adulterer, he can, if bold, slay him on the spot and the exaction of blood revenge would be uncalled for. Usually a fight ends the matter, though the offender's family may give presents to the aggrieved husband, and his wife's relatives may also make donations to atone for their daughter's failings. A husband does not share his wife with anyone, and a question as to the lending of a wife

husband upon with contempt by her family, was yet determined that nothing she had done should ruin her children's chances in life. Accordingly she demand $300 to her ex-husband to ebtay herself. Marriage is accepted as a matter of course, but to be many times repurchased is the goal of every ambitious woman. In Fiji is the custom prevails of depicting on the walks the number of coppers paid for repurchasing a wife. Thus her fame is displayed to all.

It is somewhat difficult for a white man to realize what a privilege the family of a wife considers it to repurchase her from her husband. If the latter is unwilling to give a pattech, his relatives-in-law may urge him to do so, and if he still declines to court himself they take the drastic step of inviting their fellow-villagers to assemble in his house where, with them guests as witnesses, the wife's relatives give presents to her husband and his relations. They may make this presentation at any gathering where they are assured of a large audience. In so doing the donors have demonstrated their proper sentiments, in spite of the interests of the husband.

The assistance which the relatives of a wife have given her husband is a matter about which they can boast for the rest of their lives, a fact impressed upon the writer by listening to a quarrel between two Bella Coola men. One of them owned a horse and waggon which the other had hired to move some goods. The latter became very angry, claiming that the former had overcharged him and must be poor and greedy to be so eager to acquire money. The teamster, thus deeply insulted, silenced the other man by reminding him that the only reason he was wealthy was by means of the goods used to repurchase his, the teamster's, sister from her husband, brother of the man with whom he was disputing. To the observer the dispute was made more interesting by the fact that both the husband and wife had been dead for at least fifteen years, but their families had not ceased to remember the financial obligations connected with the marriage.

but soon if someone of the kin, they realize that some supernatural, invisible visitor has arrived.

They go from house to house, and sometimes to adjacent villages as well,[1] inviting the people to pay a farewell visit to the dead man who will soon leave them. In this invitation the sacred name of the deceased is used. The guests assemble at once, irrespective of their rank or membership in the secret society. To mark their grief, female relatives pull out tufts of their hair, and both men and women of the immediate family cut their hair short. The body, either in its coffin or covered with blankets, is placed between the central fire and the back-room, immediately behind the place where the singers take their stations. When all are present, a man or other near relative who is also a fluent speaker, stands up and expounds how the Chief, meaning *Mishebits*, has come to visit the dead man, and how all should try to understand the song he has brought.[2] A hidden sacred bull-roarer is blowing a whistle monotonously, and the singers pretend to be able to understand words of a song in its noise. In reality they have prepared in advance the new one which they now hear out, accompanied by their voices. The theme either describes the coming of the supernatural visitor, or recounts the number of protection given by the deceased, and the manner in which these will make smooth the path whither he is going in the same way that distributed goods validate a chief's seat in this world. This song is practised and improved upon until the beaming of the whistle as if the singers were constantly gaining new ideas and embellishments from the words of the supernatural visitor. Sometimes a few incidents are added from the *sacred myth*. After several repetitions, a relative of the dead man asks the singers to beat out the latter's *sacred songs*, as many of them as are remembered from the time he was first initiated into the so-

[1] The Bella Bella are said to invite foreign guests to this ceremony.

[2] Sometimes the people are present when the coming of *Mishebits*, heralded by whistling and a thump on the roof, takes place. There are variations in this, as in all other sacred rites.

with to emphasize the importance of the society, even though the deception was always apparent, and that even the hooks and ropes by which the figure was manipulated could be seen. Still others regard the ceremony as a symbolic means of portraying the manner in which a man's soul comes to carry away its spirit and life. It seems clear that different interpretations must always have been accepted by different members of the community. A young and ingenuous uninitiated, steeped in the atmosphere of the supernatural, may well have believed that he was gazing upon an actual supernatural being, as the senior would desired him to do; others must have recognized that a deception of some kind was being practised, but denomination is such an important factor in Bella Coola life that individuals often disregard the difference between semblance and reality, and it is contrary to custom for a person to cast aspersions upon the prerogative of another. It is easy for such as one to accept the drama as a symbol or representation of the manner in which the soul carries off the intangible elements of the dead. This is certainly the attitude of the Bella Coola at the present time. Everyone realizes that the soul is of human manufacture and that the corpse itself is not carried away, but the rite is still performed and practiced the survivors by giving them an opportunity to display their prerogative and the cloak of the deceased's ancestor.

Perhaps because of its relatively recent introduction, details of the performance of this rite are not fully standardized. In some cases, the crest is made to appear at the same time as *Mulukila*, instead of at a subsequent ceremony. It is assumed that the origin of the rite is in some ancient myth in which the body was actually taken above by the crest, as set copied, with the aid of carpenters, by the descendants of the person to whom this occurred. There are no myths of this nature current in Bella Coola, although it is thought that such must have been common among the peoples of the outer coast to explain the prevalence of the practice in that area. One old man mentioned that an *Owikl* myth in which a

dane family. Confusion is probable only when a chief is removed after he has stored up goods and made preliminary preparations for a potlatch. He may then carry out the rites intended, but designate the ceremony a memorial potlatch. More often, however, the affair is limited to rites associated with the deceased. Consequently, there is confusion of the intention of employing even the usual evil societies.* There is no establishment of new ones for young relatives of the donor, and no strengthening of his own. It must be emphasized once more that there is no unalterable sequence of prescribed rituals in either potlatch or memorial potlatch. The omissions just mentioned are customary, not universal, and when possess the ritual of the two ceremonies is identical. Except on those rare occasions when omitted at a potlatch, the return of a dead relative is the central feature of both.

In recent years, the great increase in wealth has made it possible for a chief to perform a memorial potlatch soon after the death of an esteemed relative. This was rarely the case in former times, but as there was no other reason for which valuables were so ardently desired, every expedient was used to obtain the necessary goods. Occasionally, a chief happened to have the needful goods stored up so that he could give a memorial potlatch almost immediately. To such a fortunate individual the term, *yanla*, was applied, a word difficult to translate but combining the significances of *rich, ready, fortunate,* and *renewed.*

Memorial potlatches, like those of the ordinary kind, are usually held in the early autumn, though occasionally one may be postponed until after the fishing season. When an ensuing donor has decided that he owns sufficient goods, he first calls in his fellow-chiefs and makes known his intentions, at the same time expounding in considerable detail the myths which he proposes to use as themes for mourning songs, and for other

*Performance of such rites at a memorial potlatch would be considered sinful by the Bella Bella and were always omitted during the period when their influence was important.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

A relation is not regarded as an inalienable right, but as a [illegible] privilege; the possessions or wealth of a family may not one of these losses, but the tradition is preserved, and when one is gone it is recalled that such loss has occurred by ancestors of the fortunate one. Instances have occurred in which a person has obtained good luck without the tradition of this being in his family, but they are few. On the other hand, a man may lose the advantage of his connexion, even if he owns a portion of a *mätqus* or a *wiwil*, through failure to observe ceremonial chastity.

Some of the Bella Coola believe that the *mätqus* and the *wiwil* are the same animal, which assumes these two forms; others that the two are distinct supernatural creatures. In any case the powers and characteristics ascribed to them are the same. Most families have a tradition regarding the appearance of the one or the other to their ancestors, and the information to be derived from them is always about that particular creature. Hence the details here described are probably not all known to any one individual.

The different types of appearances, and the different types of animals called forth, should be noted. These are due to failure on the part of the Bella Coola to rationalize the sum total of their concepts. Each man recounts what he believes to have happened to one of his ancestors or friends, irrespective of whether or not the methods used may be in direct contradiction to those employed by someone else on another occasion. A man who has heard of the *mätqus*, for example, from his father and mother, may describe contradictory means of dealing with the creature, and in each case may affirm that disaster would have followed if the method described had not been carried out. Such lack of co-ordination is typical of the Bella Coola.

According to an elderly Kimsquit man, the *mätqus* was brought down in the beginning of time by one of his own ancestors, Ompemhilda. It is to this fact that he attributes his own near approach to one on two occasions. As it is fre-

G.BB Bella Coola E-1 (1900-1906) 1968
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538 In the beginning of time it used to sing
784 "I shall see a space and see when the Bella Coola River has been
to bounds on account of the running salmon in it."
825 The people used to laugh as it repeated this song year after year,
854 until the bird changed its song:
[534] "I shall see a space and see when all is still and clear. There there
will be Death instead of salmon in Bella Coola."

The next year the streams were so clear that no fish could be caught and the starving people asked the bird to return to its first song. When it did so, the water became murky so that it was possible to catch salmon once more.

The Bella Bella, not the Bella Coola, use the body of a blue jay to cause an infant to grow up with the ability to master difficult tunes in the same way that the bird has a variety of notes. The method of applying this medicine could not be learnt.

789 Most of the above medicines are well known and can be
854 applied by any parent. If, however, a man has employed one of them successfully on a number of occasions, he is often requested to use his ability for others. In such a case, the father of the benefited child is expected to reimburse his friend.
•[184] The application or non-application of such medicines is purely the concern of the child's family; they can use as many as they like, or none at all, according to their discretion.

The following medicines are used during the first year of life:

304 *To Cause Beauty*
789 Bandages of the softest undyed cedar-bark are prepared for
854 infants of both sexes soon after birth. A woman who is a good
532 artist is requested to draw with charcoal two pictures on one of the pieces of bark—of handsome men if the child is a boy, or of lovely women if a girl. An unmarked wrapping is fastened round the infant's head, then the painted one so arranged that one picture is over the forehead, the other over the occiput, and finally other plain bandages to cover the whole. These
[826] are left in place for about one year. They flatten the forehead

Ayaxnalus comes and confers on *haxiut* mercure with *Sunaxnalaiaxs*, his assistant in affairs connected with his functions as leader of the supernatural *haxiuts*.[1] This being acts as announcer and intermediary with *Ayaxnalus*, but himself lacks the power of initiating mercure. The two discuss whether or not it is advisable to allow moral *haxiuts* to perform certain dances of the type known as *haxiuxus* (II, p. 118), and if so, they transmit the necessary power to the earthly dancer who has the proper prerogatives, thus enabling him to give a graphic representation of what is done in the upper land.

This is the manner of the *haxiut* dances. Each portrays a performance given by one of the supernatural beings in the house above, or some other aspect of his activities. Each earthly dancer has as patron a supernatural being, usually the one who carries out the dance of which his own is a model, and between patron and protégé there exists a relationship by means of which the latter receives the power necessary to perform. To do so, the uninitiated believes that he must receive a *yoxc*, which can be translated as "call," from his associate above. Moreover, not only is each patron a supernatural being, but each is guided by *Ayaxnalus* in the performance of the *haxiut* rites in the land above, which indirectly increases the prestige of the protégé.

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[1] The differences of belief of individual Bella Coola, dependent upon family traditions, is nowhere shown with greater clearness than in this meeting of the leaders of the supernatural dances. It is clear that the Bella Coola have no uniformity of belief, even in what might be regarded as fundamental concepts. One informant, well versed in *haxiut* mercure, asserted that there are five supernatural leaders, *Ayaxnalus* and his assistants, *Sunaxnalaiaxs*, *Sunaxnalaiaxs*, *Sunaxnalaiaxs*, and *Sunaxnalaiaxs*. Others were equally emphatic that *Ayaxnalus* is the *haxiut* name of the supreme deity, and that *Sunaxnalaiaxs*, *Sunaxnalaiaxs*, and *Sunaxnalaiaxs*, are merely other designations for the same deity with regard to different functions. This belief has been followed during the monograph, by designating the supreme deity as *Ayaxnalus*, the name by which he is termed with respect to his *haxiut* powers. These two opinions are not as basically different as appears at first sight. A man is considered as having two, or more, personalities with respect to different rites at which he is called by different names. Since the supreme deity is regarded as a superman, who functions in diverse manners, it is not difficult to understand how these are sometimes ascribed to different individuals, and sometimes to the one under different names.

this undoubtedly leads them to believe in the powers which they claim. Each *tsciut* prerogative has had one of these origins.

(a) It was brought down by the first people. Before coming to this earth each of them saw in the land above his parents, who instructed him in a type of dance, and told him where his repository on this world would be. It is assumed that the earliest men were in contact with all the supernatural beings before coming to this earth, but it is believed that each was "blind" to the powers of his fellows, and thus had only one.

(b) It was derived from an experience with one of the supernatural beings of this world. In this case the repository was either at a spot indicated by the apparition, or at the actual scene of the vision.

(c) A powerful chief sometimes allowed an encumbrance to a *tsciut* name. It is believed that this occurred comparatively frequently in ancient times when chiefs had semi-supernatural power. In such cases each followed his own inclination in the choice of a patron,* and usually made his own repository within his house, giving strength to it by killing and burying a slave there. Although several Bella Coola informants described this, Kimsquit Indians denied that it could ever have taken place. They say that all repositories were long ago dug by *Nuxalkiyum*, a male supernatural being sent down by *Alquntam* at the beginning of time to prepare the habitations of *Awi'tikwulaxis* and her husband. After doing this, he returned to the land above where he has since resided.

It will thus be seen that the prerogative of a *tsciut* is always derived from some experience of an ancestor. In carrying out the rite, the dancer feels that he is continuing the works of his forbears, a factor which increases his desire that neither error nor carelessness on his part shall dim the prestige of the society before the uninitiated. And, further, a man who has spent

*The Bella Coola cite such actions as *proof* of the amazing abilities of their ancestors.

The making of the masks

is allowed to different *Initiates*, usually in accordance with the dancer's wishes, although a marshal normally gives out the actual tasks. The dancer, or one of his relatives, bestows presents on each person to whom work is allowed. The evening of *exorcisings* is called *tsalimaitsa*.

The third day is *gatlen*. Those to whom mask making has been entrusted assemble early in the dancer's house to start their work. About noon they are provided with a meal, to which other *Initiates* may be invited. By late afternoon, when most of the work has been accomplished, the chips are carefully swept up and burnt, and the house tidied, ready for the uninitiated who will be invited during the evening. On either this day or the one preceding, a platform, with raised sides, is built behind the fire on which the dancer can conceal himself and where he is supposed to remain during the remainder of the four days. About dusk the *Initiates* are called in; the singers take their places behind the fire, Cannibals, Breakers, and Scratchers are in one of the back corners, where a matting enclosure may have been constructed for them, and the remainder group themselves without distinction around the walls. In Kimsquit, though not in Bella Coola, one or more of the masks may be displayed, suspended from a sloping pole behind the fire. If the singers think it necessary, they may practise the dancer's two songs once more. Then the uninitiated are called in, taking their places near the doorway. The singers beat out one of the dancer's songs and he dances in time to it, and the same is repeated for his second song. After some delay, which appears to be one of the requisites of every *Initiate* performance, the singers strike up the songs of either a novice or a *Initiate*, especially one who has already had a call during the ceremonial season, and the one thus summoned dances to his two songs. Late in the season, when many *Initiates* have performed, only one song may be used, to prevent the ceremony dragging out to an interminable length, and songs of previous years are omitted. In any case, the ritual lasts for most of the night. When all have danced, the

[illegible]

[illegible]

struggling to free, to the secret meeting-place. There the chiefs discuss what shall be done with him; some suggest that he be killed, others a lesser fate, and finally concern about intention. After apparently due deliberation, this is decided upon; the slave is told the mysteries of the society and warned of the dire fate which will befall him if he ever is unmindful of his knowledge. The actual ceremonial of the admission do not vary according to the preliminaries of

Initiation can take place at any time during the season. After consulting with the marshals in order to find an evening when no other dance is to take place, the relatives of the neophyte, whom it will be convenient to term X, invite the *Sedentai* to their house. Sometimes songs are sung late of rehearsal, at other times food is distributed at once. As people are eating, one of the marshals stands up to address them, saying that X's relatives propose to take him to the repository of the name ——, so that he may become *Sedentai*. X, to whom this may be the first intimation, is taken from his house and taken from the village by several of the kinsmen, with one or more of the marshals. The *Sedentai* pierce and tell the uninitiated in the other houses that they are gone to meet *Awi'likwalosis*. His companions hear the news with mingled envy and thankfulness that they are not thus the dangerous privilege.

In ancient times X and his guides may actually have proceeded to his repository, but for several generations at least it has been customary for the party merely to go to some place apart in the woods for the night. Those accompanying the neophyte tell him as much of the ritual of the society as they think fit, forgetting to emphasize the trust put upon him, and the penalty which will befall him if he should communicate his knowledge to the uninitiated. He is expected to report that he went to the repository where, lying face downwards on the ground, he saw *Awi'likwalosis*, and Kimaquit he is supposed also to see her husband.[1]

[1] According to one old Bella Coola a sister of *Awi'likwalosis* also resides in every repository.

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[Koskimo Society Initiation]

X sometimes receives two prerogatives at his initiation, one from each parent, or from some other interested relative. In this case both are expounded. The singers listen intently, knowing that they will later be called upon to compose songs on the theme, or themes. According to some informants they immediately sing one, as if they had just created it, though it was really prepared in advance. The *hukwiut* listen until they have mastered it.

Helpers now distribute the food provided by X's father, or whoever is responsible for his initiation. At every *hukwiut* ceremonial the marshals are the first recipients, then the singers, and finally the others without distinction. As the guests are eating, X's father gives presents to all, without deference to rank. An announcer calls out:

"Here are [*for example*] ten bear-skins from X's mother. They are to obtain for him his cedar-bark bracelets."

These goods are then distributed. Similarly other gifts from various relatives are handed out for his anklets, his blanket, his collar, his head-dress, and all other parts of his clothing. As each item of his ceremonial costume is validated, X dons the prepared article. A novice's head-dress consists of a round roll of dyed cedar-bark, covering a grass frame; in *Stuie* and the other villages of the upper valley this is decorated with a tuft of swan's down. The *hukwiut* of these villages also wear a distinctive decoration consisting of a swan's skin with the feathers attached. In recent years it has been customary to pile all the goods together and distribute them as *dłq'ᵊll*, which has the significance of "something that has vanished for the novice's dyed cedar-bark." Theoretically, the aim of the donor is to bestow his presents on all equally, but if he finds that he has some remaining, he gives these to the chiefs, or to the relatives of someone whom he expects will soon be a novice. None of the goods used in general distributions are returnable, but a chief who receives an extra gift at the end usually remembers from whom it was received and cancels his indebtedness at the earliest opportunity. There is no close connection between the disbursements and the worth of the

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[The Dance of Noaknim]

903 824 825 squeaches the Bella Coola River, and proceeds up it, beneath the surface of the water, invisible to all. Its destination is *Smaiem-a*, whence its captain leaps to *Nasqulwaiste* to await the coming of *Alqaeiem*. The crew consists of a number of supernatural beings, who will be described in connection with the ceremonial on the night of *nukaxam*. This canoe, which brings the salmon and berries to Bella Coola, has four masts but no sails, and is enormous. Whenever the weather is fine, *Noākynum* lowers first one side and then the other of his craft so that the salmon may leave; after swimming around for a time they always return, refreshed by their exercise. In former [785 831 787] times when people were purified by ceremonial chastity, several succeeded in seeing the craft, and from them it is known that it is about six hundred yards in length, that it travels without leaving a wake, that any canoes passing near are sucked along after it, and that a mallard duck, perched on the bow, quacks continuously. Intelligent informants agreed that the bringing of the salmon during the autumn was inconsistent, but they could offer no explanation. One man believed that [620 776] this was pointed out not many years ago by a man whose patron was *Noākynum*, but that the marshals requested him not to upset established ritual by too much logic. *Noākynum* 575 is patron for several *kukusiut*, who are believed by the uninitiated to be able to see his canoe. As he passes up the river 796 the *kusiut* dances begin.

184 It is unnecessary to describe the full ritual in each village, [424 551] as this is supposed to be identical, and probably contains only slight variations, if any. In *Tcumsil* the *kusiut* who has the prerogative of seeing *Noākynum* is a certain *Qaxolān-i*,[15] in Kimsquit, *Atuskinuasam*,[16] and in *Sliskiutl*, *Xemtnum*. Although,

[115 426 578] [15]Details of this dance were learnt from the father of *Qaxolān-i*, who intimated that the name was a family possession. Several months later an old woman referred to the lending of this designation by her father and said that the present user had failed to return it. Bitter feelings are often caused by disputes of this kind.

[16]Meaning "Cloud Covered," a reference to the invisibility of his patron, as if the latter were hidden by clouds. Many *kusiut* names have significances of this type.

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[The Dance of NoaKxnim]

of his relatives, has given them for this purpose. When he crouches during the chorus they crowd close around, almost concealing him. Particularly in those dances fraught with danger to the performer, it is customary for any number of his friends, either men or women, to dance to "help" him. Anyone wishing to do so merely stands up and begins, in time to the music, irrespective of what part of the house he may be in. It is considered contrary to good manners for a father to help his son, or a brother a brother, but a dancer is pleased to have aid from anyone else. It is said that in Bella Bella certain *ǂaǂaxsiut* have definite prerogatives of helping in this way, but this is not the case in Bella Coola. Throughout every dance the *ǂaǂaxsiut* women utter their droning cry.

This, then, is the type of dance which the uninitiated in the lowest house see. They hear the song, too, and gaze with awe at X, imbued as he is with the supernatural power of sight. Then the sounding-boards are picked up and taken to the next house, where the whole ceremonial is repeated. This is done at each house of the village.[*] All the *ǂaǂaxsiut* now return to X's house, where he once more dances to his song. A box-drum is always used to help the singers in keeping time, and when the song has been finished two men continue in turn to beat it all day. X always arranges to have a relative or friend superintend the distribution of food, which follows his final dancing. As the *ǂaǂaxsiut* are eating, the marshals deliver their usual admonishments, a task that accompanies every meal. Then they call on the people to erect a raised platform between the fire and the back-wall of the house. Materials have been placed in readiness so that it is an easy matter to build a framework a few feet in height, of which the flat top is screened by a matting wall about three feet high. This is often decorated with designs of dyed cedar-bark without ritual significance as far as the Bella Coola of today are aware. X climbs to this platform, the *ǂaǂaxsiut* disperse, and only the incessant pounding of the drum proves that some unusual event is taking place.

[*] In Bella Coola, but perhaps not in Kimsquit.

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salmon are properly looked after, in fact, he is practically the supernatural archetype of the River Guardian. *Imimäitnaix*, "The Moorer," is a supernatural child who stays with the Resident, and whose sole function appears to be the mooring of *Nuäkynum*'s craft. *Dukdukämem* is sent by *Smaiet-a*, who in this connection appears to have human intelligence, to greet *Nuäkynum*, and with him come *Smaiet-a*'s son, *Älälmktnum*,[1] to assist *Nuäkynum* in poling his craft up the river. All these beings are patrons for different *kukuxint*. The Resident is also known as *Amtäklis*.

The *kukuxint* assemble in X's house as on the previous occasions; according to some informants two songs are used on this day, others say only one. The people proceed in the usual manner to the lowest house, and make their way upstream. When about half through the village, however, X shrieks out that *Numätlum* has brought a call to him. The woman and the heralds cry out loudly, X hastily returns to his own house, from which the uninitiated are at once expelled, and the *kuxint* whistles sound from within. *Numätlum* is one of the supernatural beings who has travelled with *Nuäkynum* for the sole purpose of bringing a call to X. If the calendrical experts have been successful in their reckonings, the November moon will first be visible on the night of this day. Several of the older men admitted that errors were common, and that sometimes four days more had to elapse, in which it was said that *Nuäkynum* was poling up the river. As he passes, his dancers in the different villages receive their calls on successive nights. It is assumed that he can go by several adjacent settlements on the same night, but the *kuxint* season is two or three days shorter in *Snaw* and the upper villages than in *Kempo-ti*. Exact information on this point was unavailable. As already described, *Nuäkynum* travels to *Smaiet-a*, whence he leaps to *Nuxqulmaints* and places his pole within the house. All the supernatural beings crowd in after him to wait for *Alquntäm*, but as soon as the latter enters, *Nuäkynum* seizes his

[1] Some informants state that there are four of these beings.

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pole and starts his journey downstream.

Now that X has received his call, the ceremonial continues for four days more, in a manner typical of *ẖaxiat* dances. Only variations from the pattern about to be described will be given in later dance rituals.

X spends the rest of this day on which the call has come to him, the twenty-fourth of the whole rite, within his house. In the evening a herald summons the *ẖaxiat*, this being the night of *łxastémox*. In *Stuie* the call used is:

Skinap Stuiem, "Cure, ye *Stuie* people," because it is believed that a call almost kills a *Stuie* person. This is probably true for the people of the other villages of the upper valley, but elsewhere this cry is used only when a novice receives his first call. In the lower valley and at Kimsquit the cry is:

Snapuxlálimut ẖaẖaxiat, "Bring light, ye *ẖaẖaxiat*."

Care is always taken to use the right expression with reference to the locality of the dancer's repository, irrespective of where he may happen to be living.

All the *ẖaẖaxiat* are expected to attend, in fact, they are glad to do so, but attendance is compulsory for novices only. When all have assembled, one of the leading singers takes command. The coming of his call is supposed to have made X light-headed, and he must be cured by a frenzied beating of sticks four times repeated. During this X himself remains quiescent. The singers now group themselves into a close circle to compose a song describing the supernatural beings seen by X during the day. As a rule, each man has one or more tunes in his mind which fit hums to his associates as he softly beats time. Then another does the same, and this is repeated until unanimity of opinion is reached concerning the most suitable. The leader of the choir fits the proper words to this, assisted by his comrades and perhaps by X himself, or someone well acquainted with his prerogative.* As soon as the singers have finished their work they widen their circle and sing the song loudly so that it can be heard and learnt by all,

*This song, like the ones used earlier, is sometimes prepared in advance.

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by X is called. Having dined, the guests depart while the craftsmen continue their labours. Towards dusk the house is cleared up, the chips thrown on the fire and everything made ready. On this night the uninitiated are invited, but there is a wide and important difference in ritual between Bella Coola and Kimsquit. In the former the masks are carefully concealed, whereas in Kimsquit one or two, or sometimes all, are suspended behind the fire by the carpenters. It is exceedingly difficult for an observer to understand why this practice does not at once remove all secrecy from the rite. The explanation appears to lie in the fact that the uninitiated, ignorant of how they have been made, see in these strange objects evidence of the power of the *dukwiat*. In Kimsquit, moreover, members of the society emphasize the fact that the dances are supernaturally endowed representations of what the beings above are doing and performing, and it is only at certain rites that they are actually supposed to be present. One old Bella Coola remembered having heard from his grandfather that long before his time the carpenters used to make the masks in their own houses where the uninitiated could see them; the dancer would come in, wave his arm over the craftsman's head and cry *hoip* if the workmanship was excellent. The man who described this expressed his own scepticism, and added that it would have destroyed the key-note of secrecy. A possible explanation of this important difference in ritual will be given at the end of this chapter; for the present it will be enough to point out that the masks are left suspended in Kimsquit, and concealed in Bella Coola.

Towards dusk the herald goes to every house to summon the *dukwiat*, who have adorned themselves for the ceremony by washing and painting, as the uninitiated have also done. The members assemble slowly, in fact an observer finds the interminable delays of every *dukwiat* dance most provoking. At last all have appeared and taken their places around the fire, while the uninitiated eagerly wait near the door for the invitation which they know will soon be given. One of the men

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pelled; a Cannibal (II, p. 71) begins to growl and those who are not members of the society leave hastily. 575* 796*

The next event is the burning of the masks. The wearers remove them and lay them on the floor in front of the back-room at the point marked O in the accompanying sketch. Then X asks a friend to help him. The person chosen picks up any two of the masks and carries them around the fire, eastwise, through B, where X is standing, to the point marked A (see Fig. 1). The helper throws one mask on the fire, and as he does so X lifts his arms, as if throwing up some heavy weight, at the same time uttering *hoip*, which has a beneficial effect in returning the mask whence it came.

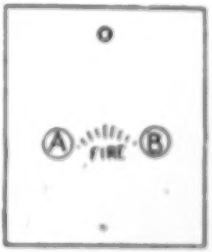

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FIG. 1.
Diagram showing positions of participants during mask-burning.

As one informant put it: "May you have a safe journey."

The assistant throws the second mask on the fire, and again X throws up his arms and cries *hoip*. He crosses to A where he twice repeats the same cry, then returns to B. The assistant picks up two more masks and throws them on the fire at the same place and in the same manner as the two preceding, X also doing as he did before. The masks are taken two at a time until all have been burnt. The explanation given is to avoid the danger of the uninitiated seeing them, but whether or not this is a mere rationalization is doubtful. The Bella Coola say that the Bella Bella do not burn their masks. Next the singers strike up the first of X's songs and he dances, while musicians and audience join in; this is repeated for each of his songs. If it is desired to hasten the ritual, the lengthy singing and dancing is replaced by X giving only a short dance, unaccompanied by music. The Bella Coola do not appear to understand why they dance at this time, although it is said that it makes easy the departure of the masks.

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In Kimsquit the ritual of mask-burning is slightly different, [184].

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[The Dance of Noaxnim]

since a certain *kusiut* has the definite prerogative of throwing them on the fire. As each is tossed into the flames he calls out:

"Please return directly to the supernatural ones."

The only exception is for the mask of *Ano'likwoisaix* for which his cry is:

"Please return directly to your repository."

Before X can again take his normal place in the community it is necessary to remove from him the call, which is conceived as being something physical that has entered his body. This is the belief taught to the uninitiated so emphatically that the *kukusiut* themselves appear to believe it; at any rate, whatever their inward thoughts, they act as if the call had substance. As soon as the masks have been burnt one of the *kukusiut* suggests that it is time to expel the call. All the *kukusiut* in the house crowd around X, as many as can reach his body pressing against his stomach with their hands, always in an upward direction. Higher and higher they go, from stomach to chest, from chest to neck, as if massaging some object. At last it is thought to have been expelled, and X brings his hands together, as if holding something with great care. Suddenly he throws them up in the air, opening them as he does so, and calling out:

Ānukāldimut ola āmātaxgnu, "Go back to your ancient home."

Those ritual words have been handed down from ancient times and are used by every *kusiut* to dismiss his call. Whither it is sent is problematical. Some say to X's repository, others to *Nusqulxwaista*; the Bella Coola do not know. Often one of his songs has been sung on the sidewalk outside X's house; the call may be returned from there.

This rite ends the ceremony and the *kukusiut* disperse. It is obvious that every *nəbusam* must vary according to the patron of the dancer, but the above is typical of the ritual. A call can now come to any *kusiut*, and one often descends at this time, so that X's *nəbusam* is *lsxtāmem* for another dancer.

For the rest of the ceremonial season X has to observe certain rules. He must wear his collar of cedar-bark and

[The Dance of Wila]

"Path Clearers" see to it that no one passes between him and the fire. The uninitiated are not expelled from the house and their curiosity is aroused. Meanwhile the singers prepare songs for X, describing his supernatural patrons, and some *kukusiut* carpenters are instructed to make in secret ten small pieces of wood, about one foot in length and six inches wide, sometimes half-moon shaped. They cover these with dyed cedar-bark on which they paint the designs appropriate to each being.[1] On the morning of the fourth day,[2] X blackens his face with soot or charcoal, obtained by pouring water on a fire, and dons the usual *kusiut* costume. A herald then invites the *kukusiut* to assemble in X's house. Presently they proceed to the lowest house of the village, where the singers beat out the tunes of the "Path Clearers," remembered from a previous year. They dance, while X stands, shifting his feet and moving his apron as if he also wished to perform but was too weary to do so. This is repeated at every house of the village, except that in which the potlatch was held; most of the *kukusiut* follow the procession, as do some of the uninitiated. Finally, with X last of all, they enter the potlatch house, where foreign guests and many uninitiated have assembled.

In Kimsquit the preliminary four days of watching are omitted, but from this point on, the rites of the two areas are practically identical.[3] As X enters, all the *kukusiut* who have pounding sticks begin to beat on the floor and the women drone. Without delay, and without attention to the timeless thumping, X begins to dance, sunwise, around the fire, at intervals casting on it particles of eagle down which have the effect of making the supernatural ones above take their places. He calls out intermittently that he can see the beings above sitting down, and a herald repeats his remarks loudly. In Bella Coola the four "Path Clearers" walk close behind X.

[1] The distinctive designs are given by Boas, to whom the reader is referred.

[2] It is probable that X must first lie down when *Nuaŧsmim*'s dancer reports that the canoe is at the mouth of the river.

[3] It is uncertain whether the differences in ritual are typical of Bella Coola and Kimsquit, or merely represent variations in individual prerogatives.

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[The Dance of Wi.a]

The last to seat himself is *Kuliliai Nuskämpta*, an obstreperous individual, who always wants more presents than anyone else. When X announces that the beings above have taken their places, a carpenter brings forward the object covered with cedar-bark and painted with a design of *Xemxemälotla*,[a] holds it above X's head, and then gives it to a herald who casts it into the fire. At the same time X throws on the flames some dyed cedar-bark, some undyed cedar-bark, a little eagle down, and some olachen grease, saying:

"Please *Xemxemälotla*,[b] accept this offering and be present," and throws his hands up in the air as if casting some object upwards.

Still dancing, X calls out *hoip* several times.

The painted representation and the cedar-bark are objects which *Xemxemälotla* likes to receive; the olachen grease supplies the flame on which they ascend to him. The same procedure is repeated for the eight other brothers, with slight variations in the words addressed to each. To *Omqemtikhla*, for example, X says:

Ats!qmal-ainxlulma Woodpecker-coloured[c] *hmqemtikhlaal!* *Omqemtikhla*,[d]	*dixunxlxwumdxtsnas* is the place where he sits,	*exqaxtmxaal!* the recipient,[e]

When the time comes to invite the hungry *Thitcäplilin·a*, an offering of food instead of bark is cast upon the flames. X continues to dance after the final gift, and presently a thud is heard on the roof while some *kaxiat*, chosen beforehand for the purpose, compresses a hidden bladder-whistle which the uninitiated know is the voice of the call. Whether they be-

[a] In Kimsquit the offerings are made by a *kaxiat* who has this prerogative in connection with the game *Ithalilmax·a*.

[b] His other name is *Oxqaxem*, "The Recipient of Many Gifts."

[c] *Ats!qmal* also is one of the larger woodpeckers, the species could not be identified.

[d] This designation, properly applied only to *Xemxemälotla*, is often used for his brothers as well.

[e] These words are virtually sung, each vertical line marking the end of each subdivision. A record was made of the music for the National Museum of Canada; record VII D 6a; singer, Jim Pollard.

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[The Dance of Wila]

houses. The night's ceremony concludes with a meal and the admonitions of the marshals.

No further description is needed of the rites taking place the next day, that of *nusiutälsap*, when a second song is composed, again dealing with X's patrons, and wood for masks is cut. The evening's ceremonial does not last as long as that of *lustämem*.

The next day, *gotlem*, the carpenters work at the masks, some of which must be finished by nightfall. Late in the evening both *ẖaẖusiut* and uninitiated prepare themselves by painting and washing; at this time the young men provide pans of warm water for their female friends. As already described, the *ẖaẖusiut* are the first to enter, followed by the uninitiated when all is ready. In Kimsquit they see the masks of at least some of X's supernatural patrons suspended by cords of dyed cedar-bark from a sloping pole that stretches from the floor at the base of the back-room to the cross-beam behind the fire. It is said, although the informant could not guarantee the truth of the statement, that long ago masks had to be displayed at this dance, though it was optional at others. It is a serious and sacred time, one at which frivolity is quite out of place, and the marshals are in readiness to punish any offender. One very old informant told of having seen a marshal strike down and kill a *ẖusiut* from another house for holding intercourse with a woman on this night. The heralds stay near the door, repeating and enlarging on the remarks of the marshals; the fluency of these functionaries always adds appreciably to the success of any Bella Coola rite. On this occasion X and the dancer of *Neäkymm* must perform, followed by those who have danced in former years, according to the desire of the singers; later in the season, when many *ẖaẖusiut* have performed, the rite may continue almost till dawn, for all must dance. After the departure of the uninitiated the *ẖaẖusiut* eat leisurely, while a marshal addresses them, commenting on the ritual and, perhaps, asking a man

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[The Cannibal Dance]

among the Bella Bella, Fort Rupert, and Rivers Inlet people. Indeed, in Bella Coola a poor man may be the most dreaded Cannibal of all, if he has been able duly to validate and perform his right in this respect. Nor is the dance carried out with the same rigour in Bella Coola as among the tribes of the outer coast.

The ritual of different prerogatives varies to such an extent that several accounts must be given, in spite of the repetitions that this form of presentation entails. On account of the length of time necessary, a Cannibal dance usually begins early in the season. The following describes the manner in which *Kämätsläk* of Kimsquit, who can bite the living, carried out his rite; it was obtained from his brother, who is thoroughly conversant with the details. It will be convenient to refer to *Kämätsläk* as X, and to use the present tense throughout.

A meeting is held at which the marshals and others choose, in agreement with X and his relatives, a day suitable for him to commence his performance. Under normal circumstances it is on some *qutlum* that a marshal announces that he can hear X's call, and on the following evening, when the ritual has been completed, the uninitiated are startled to hear continuous whistling from the slopes of the mountains near the village. The instruments used are of the usual bladder type, but the long-drawn-out sound, termed *Älälässa*, is said to be the voice of the kindly supernatural woman, *Snitsmän·a*.[1]

[1]The sole function of this being seems to be the restoring to life of those who appear to have been killed in the performance of *hamat* rites. The Bella Coola are uncertain whether or not she is identical with *Tlaxpilän·a*. The noise which heralds her coming is produced by the whistles of four *halusiut* who throughout the night range the forests and mountains within ear-shot of the village. By bending their heads up and down, they are able to increase the weirdness and apparent elusiveness of the sound. The four travel in single file, the leader blows, and when his breath is nearly exhausted he presses the hand of the second man, who starts whistling forthwith, while the original leader drops to the rear. As the second becomes weary, he signals in the same way to the third, and so on; in this way the whistling is continuous, and the uninitiated are convinced that it cannot be created by mortals, even if such an idea should occur to them. If a non-member should meet the four, they would at once kill him or make him a prisoner, keeping him out of sight until he could be initiated into the society.

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restraining him bend too, throwing him back into the centre of the circle with the aid of the rope and their bodies. Meanwhile the women are droning, and some of them pound on the floor with sticks; intermittent calls of *hoip* and the sound of the whistle add to the weird confusion. The circle of *kukusiut* often revolves around X, each man jumping in time to his neighbours, so that the din is increased. After about ten minutes, the circle gradually contracts to a double line, and the rope is slipped over X's head, as if tying up a dangerous beast. One end is given to a *kusiut* willing to have a call, and he goes around leading X as if he were a captive animal. The heralds go to every house to report what has taken place.[a]

Towards dusk two young *kukusiut* are sent up the mountains. Soon after the sun has set, members of the society gather on the sidewalk outside X's house, to which X is led. He is still struggling, and the *kukusiut* press close around him, as if to restrain him; thereby effectually concealing everything from the uninitiated watching from the doorways of their houses. At a signal from one of the senior *kukusiut*, all the members of the society shriek out *ye* .. at the top of their voices. At the same time X, aided by his fellows, slips from his rope and hides himself within a box-drum, which is then carried back to his house. Warned by the cry, the two lads up the mountains forthwith begin to growl. This furnishes clear proof to the uninitiated that X has been able, owing to the power within him, to slip away from the closest bonds of his fellows and travel aloft. In answer to the growls from above, a *kusiut* with a powerful voice calls out:

"Go aloft on the right road. Your power will enable you to escape the dangers. But do not stray from the narrow trail."

[184] In Kimsquit, though not in Bella Coola, the *kukusiut* then go to every house, crying and wailing, thinking of the Cannibals

[a] It is not clear whether or not the uninitiated are sometimes present at the roping.

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who have gone aloft and never returned,[a] and of course increasing the fear of the uninitiated. They then go back to X's home where a marshal speaks, asking all to keep silence so that they will be able to hear X when he returns from the land above. No noise is permitted during his absence, even the discharge of muskets being forbidden. The man who carries the rope from which X escaped always receives a call on this night, because the supernatural beings have seen the important part he has played in the rite, and his patron recognizes it in this way. This is the fiction taught to the uninitiated and, accordingly, the rope-holder is some *kusiut* who wishes to have a call. After the usual curing,[b] one song is composed for the rope-holder, and sung very softly, since the night's ceremony is termed *Ăloliqosnumx*, "The Actionless Night," or *Nuxstimut*, "The Silent Night." The uninitiated believe that the *kukusiut* are filled with woe and foreboding at the fate before X. It is early morning before they disperse.

The next day, *nusiutălsap* for the rope-holder, the usual ritual is omitted since the pretence of grief and fear must still be preserved. Thus the necessary wood for the rope-holder's masks is cut silently. The collar and rope from which X escaped are hung on the wall of his house, and when a herald summons the *kukusiut* during the evening, he bids them assemble to watch over these objects. Although a second song, composed during the day, is practised for the rope-holder, it is done so softly that the uninitiated from neighbouring houses imagine that the *kukusiut* are really brooding over their loss. The only sound that reaches them is an occasional *hoip*, accentuating their fear. After the customary distribution of work and food the *kukusiut* disperse.

On the morrow, the rope-holder's *gothm*, the uninitiated are summoned, because it is assumed that members of the

[a] If a Cannibal dies during his period of concealment he is buried secretly. The uninitiated are told that his power enabled him to cross a yawning chasm in the land above, but then it failed him, so that he was unable to return to his friends.

[b] This consists of the frenzied beating of sticks, repeated four times.

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*5775 *796 without apparent cause. It will be convenient to refer to *Łułułimut* as X.

[184] Having first obtained sanction from the marshals, X begins his preparations. The continuous whistling that in Kimsquit presages a call to a Cannibal is lacking, but on the morning when it has been decided that X will start his dance, he discards his clothing and goes to the house in which a *kusiut* ceremony is taking place, and from which the uninitiated have accordingly been ejected. After droning for an instant, he suddenly leaps at a man and bites him. The "victim," warned of what is to happen, has probably prepared himself by making a small cut so that his blood can gush forth easily. Then X rushes from the house, growling ferociously, and biting a number of *kukusiut*, either men or women, on arm, neck, or leg. Several co-members accompany the Cannibal, while the uninitiated cower within the bedrooms, hoping to be unobserved. A herald goes continually through the village, calling out:

"The dreaded one [*Pāxotła*] has bitten three [or whatever the number may be] people."

X spends a considerable time rushing around biting people, the effect being greatly magnified by the outcry of his assistants and the terror of the uninitiated who cringe in fear lest they should be bitten by this seeming maniac with the strange power. When weary, X dashes off into the forest to rest; his followers go with him and sit down in two groups, men in one, women in the other.

About noon a herald goes to every house calling out, *ipānap*, which means, "Hold him down."

Two or more *kukusiut* have been sent up the mountain above the village while the others go to X's house, from which the uninitiated were expelled at the first signs of his fury. A rope, previously prepared, is lashed around X in spite of his struggles, and tied to pieces of wood on which several *kukusiut* sit to increase the weight, but arranged so that X can slip out of his bonds without the ruse being apparent. As a dog-eating

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placing their hands against his mouth and neck and pressing downwards to the chest as if forcing some object from his throat, constantly uttering the cry of *hoip*. When the obstacle has been driven down, X is offered his first food, choice morsels of dried salmon. He eats some of this but bites a small piece from the spoon, and does the same with the dish in which water is held to his lips. The assistance of a shaman is often required to feed the Cannibal.

The powers of, and restrictions upon, X for the remainder of the ceremonial season are identical with those already described. At the end of the period, however, the *kuk̓usiut* assemble in X's house to rid him of his *sqiolt* which, it will be remembered, had been forced from his mouth down into his chest. By means of a violent repetition of *hoip* and pressing with the hands, this is extracted and cast into another *kusiut*. As soon as the latter has received it, he acts as if he had become a Cannibal. Dashing out, he enters each house in turn, growling and calling out *xwa-*, *xwa-*, *xwa-*, and at intervals ripping up the planking from the floor or pulling off boards from the wall. Then the substitute re-enters X's house, where the power is returned to X himself, who, this done, rushes to every dwelling and repeats the growling and destruction. Though the uninitiated realize that two different individuals have appeared as Cannibals, they are too awe-stricken to feel anything but wonder. When he gets back to his own house, X is surrounded by the *kuk̓usiut* who call out *hoip*, in unison four times, while as many of them as can find places press upwards with their hands against his neck and throat to expel the *sqiolt*. This succeeds in sending back X's power to the mysterious regions above whence it came. While most of the *kuk̓usiut* beat time vigorously, a number of them pull down the platform and cast it into the fire. They then have a meal, while a marshal gives weighty advice about the care that must be exercised during the coming year in guarding their sacred secrets from the uninitiated; whereupon they all disperse.

The chief contrasts between this rite and the one previously

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described for Kimsquit are the lack of the cannibalistic incubus and the presence of the *spirals*. It must be emphasized that these are differences of individual prerogative alone; many Kimsquit Cannibals perform with *spirals*, many Bella Coola with incubus.

Although every effort was used to obtain not only the general principles of the rite, but also confirmation of details, it must be remembered that many of these were omitted at the performances observed, so that reliance had to be placed upon the accounts of participants. It is probable that errors of omission have been committed in consequence; these may account for some of the discrepancies, but the most potent factors are undoubtedly lack of uniformity in individual prerogatives, and failure to enforce absolute rigidity in ritual. The two accounts just given by no means illustrate all the variations possible in this dance; others will become evident in descriptions of the rites of Cannibals other than those who can bite the living.

The following is an account of the ritual of a Dog-eating Cannibal, *Oläda i*, of *Sunxt*. Long, long ago one of the ancestors of this man saw a pack of wolves devouring some dogs. In some mysterious way, which even the Bella Coola do not profess to be able to understand, the power of a wolf entered the beholder so that he was impelled to eat dogs. He was then carried away to the mysterious land above where he saw and was assisted by several supernatural beings. The first *Oläda i* was able to transmit to one of his relatives his ability to eat dogs, and the prerogative has since been carried out by his descendants. Should the holder of the name fail to tell his destined heir the details of the experiences which are to be embodied in his songs, his successor can obtain these from the singers who, of course, are familiar with the themes used on previous occasions. The repository of the name, *Oläda i*, is beneath a huge boulder not far from some carved rocks behind the village of *Sunxt* (see Plate 6).[1] It is said that many years ago some reckless uninitiated placed poles as levers beneath

[1] [See category 116, p. 84 (F) – ANALYST]

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[The Stomach-Cutting Dance]

meal with admonitions from the marshals; then they too disperse. 575* 796*

During the following day a hole is dug behind the fire of sufficient depth to conceal X, when standing in it, as high as the thighs. Towards dusk he takes up his position in this pit; his face is blackened and he wears the customary cedar-bark collar and a belt-apron to hold the frame in place. An assistant lies down on the floor immediately in front of him with his head in the hole beside X's feet so that the two men, instead of appearing as such, seem to be only one seated upon the ground. As night falls the *kukusiut* take their places and the more influential members of the society press forward to see that X and his assistant are properly disguised so that the fact that they are really two is not apparent. When all is in readiness, the Bella Coola practice is for a herald to summon the waiting uninitiated, but in Kimsquit one of the marshals orders some of the younger men to extinguish the fire, before this is done, so that as the non-members come to the door their fears are increased by finding the house in deep darkness. The heralds guide them to their places in the front corners, where they sit in shuddering expectancy for about an hour. The stillness is broken only by the occasional sound of a whistle and the laboured breathing of the guests. Suddenly the hush is shattered by the voice of a *kuʒiut* calling out four times *ăn·ăn·ai*, the ejaculation used in pain. [184] [192] [152]

To the spell-bound uninitiated it seems as if the supernatural beings surrounding him had become too much for him, so that he cried out in the agony of his soul. Resinous sticks have been placed in readiness and a fire is quickly kindled. The Cannibals growl savagely in their corners and the uninitiated shiver. From this point forth the ritual in Bella Coola and Kimsquit is identical. [184]

X circles the fire, sunwise, four times and appears to seat himself on the floor with outstretched legs though in reality he is standing in the hole. One of the *ăuuyax* stands up and announces:

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After a short interval, she is answered by the singer in the lower, western, rear corner of the house as follows:

Saqunkoisānitwewit	*itlasnitsman·aaidja*	*shāpālpalpāloisdai*
Let there come to earth	the voice of *Snitsmān·a*	to revive

diyālākaipm ilsaidai
the one who has so injured himself.

The general meaning of this song is obvious, although there are several obscure expressions which serve to increase the wonder and fear of the uninitiated. Silence follows the singing, then whistling is heard and a herald announces that one of the puppet-patrons inserted into X has left him and gone to the region above. Similar whistling announces the departure of others at intervals. When several have done so, it is time for the first to return. A thud, made by a hidden accomplice, is heard on the roof and whistling breaks out afresh. Sometimes the puppet-patron returns to X, but more often to its invoker, and the transference previously enacted is repeated over the body of the dancer who continues to lie as if lifeless. Now and then the uninitiated are invited forward to look at him and they notice that the gaping wound is slowly closing, an easy matter to arrange in the dim light of the house. At intervals the puppet-patrons go and return from the land above, and the proceedings are sometimes enlivened by the owners telling a herald, who in turn informs the audience, what the puppet-patron saw on its journey aloft. Usually each goes and returns four times in the course of the night. Each of the women selected to sing the mourning songs performs once, standing in a corner of the house and waving a wand wound with alternate bands of dyed and undyed cedar-bark. So the long night passes. Towards dawn continuous whistling is heard. This is made by several men with a whistle apiece; each begins to blow as soon as the breath of his partner is nearly exhausted. It is known to be the voice of *Snitsmān·a*. In Kimsquit, but not in Bella Coola, this is the signal for the entry of the giant toad. Carpenters have made a wooden figure of the amphibian and by means of concealed strings it is

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575 796 533 The singers have also composed a song for each of the *dəuyax* and these too must be practised, while the men dance or remain still as they think fit. Since no uninitiated are present the affair is purely a rehearsal. The words of each of these songs is of the manner in which the patron helped X to survive his ordeal. By this time it is late and the *kuɬusiut* disperse after the usual meal and admonitions of the marshals.

575 796 532 The next day, *qoɬəm*, the carpenters assemble early in the morning to start work. Since X is entitled to portray any of the supernatural beings who are companions of his patron in the land above, it follows that there is wide variation in his choice of masks to be manufactured. The principal supernatural beings are always shown, and any animals, since all are supernatural, can likewise be displayed. As usual, a few *kuɬusiut* are invited at midday to share the meal provided for the carpenters. The number of masks to be provided is often so great that two days or more are necessary for their completion, in which case no ceremony takes place on the night which would normally be *qoɬəm*; the *kuɬusiut* merely gather [533] and again practise their songs.

575 796 But the day after is *qoɬəm*. At dusk the *kuɬusiut* are called in for a final rehearsal of the songs, and then a summons is sent [515] to the uninitiated, who have been washing and beautifying [532] themselves in eager anticipation. In Kimsquit it is customary [584] to hang some of the masks on a sloping pole behind the fire and the sight of these amazes the non-members. First the singers [781] beat out the song of one of the women mourners and she dances in time to it, while the heralds near the door keep up a steady [535] stream of remarks, encouraging the woman to perform yet [834] more strenuously and to have no modesty about shaking her breasts. Then another of the women dances, followed in succession by the third and fourth if that is the number who sang the mourning songs. Next the *dəuyax* perform, each in succession accompanying the song composed for him. Now comes the central feature of the evening, the performance of X himself. As the singers strike up the shaman's song which he is

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[The Beheading Dance]

floor. The rope draws through itself, becomes untangled, and the blood stains previously placed on it become apparent. The *ɬukusiut* rehearse the decapitation a number of times until every detail is perfect. Shielded by the gloom of the house, one of the carpenters fastens a thin cord to the portrait-mask and practises drawing it gradually towards X, who finally rises as if restored to life by the return of his head. The mask is actually concealed and X stands up at his natural height. Since this is the feat which will be done in the presence of the uninitiated, it must be worked out with precision. When the marshals are satisfied that everything is in good shape they permit the *ɬukusiut* to disperse. A similar practice is carried out for the Stomach-Cutting dance if the marshals consider it necessary. The night after the rehearsal the call comes to X, who parades to every house in the village. On his fourth circuit he carries a rope in his hand instead of a knife; the *ɬukusiut* weep as they did on the previous occasion, and any uninitiated who have seen or heard of the rite realize the fate in store for X. The next day, *nasiutilap*, a number of *ɬukusiut* are dispatched for wood, and in the evening some of the work is allotted and arrangements made for singing the mourning songs and for the use of puppet-patrons by the *ɬnuyus*. The marshals take advantage of the opportunity to harangue their hearers.

"Take heed what you do," they say. "*Alquntam* and the other supernatural ones have sent down a powerful call to us. Unless we make strong our spirits we will be unable to bear up under the weight of it."

Qaiku passes without variation from the type already described, and on the following night the *ɬukusiut* assemble early for *nalusam*. When they have taken their places, the fire is extinguished; then the uninitiated are called in and guided to their places near the door.[184] After an hour's delay, punctuated by the whistles, the fire is built up and X goes around it four times, while the *ɬukusiut* beat furiously with sticks. X calls

[184] In Kimsquit only.

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[The Mystery Dance]

*575 *796 gotism, and it is agreed that the call shall come to him on the following evening.

X's first task is to prepare, or to have made for him, a stick which he will use throughout the ceremony. It is of yellow [184] cedar, about five feet in length; in Kimsquit it is decorated with four bands of swan feathers, in Bella Coola with alternate bands of dyed and undyed cedar-bark.

[787] The following evening the call comes to X. He utters a low whistle, resembling a hoot, goes towards the fire and slowly revolves on himself. The *ɬaɬaxiat* women present begin to drone and the uninitiated are expelled. Constantly turning on himself, X slowly moves sunwise around the flames, repeating his hoot three times, once at each side of the fire. He stands behind it and calls out loudly:

"Please say exactly what you want; whatever it is, I will do it."

After the customary frenzied beating, he withdraws to the back-room. Heralds go to all the houses, reporting what has taken place and summoning the *ɬaɬaxiat*. When all have gathered, X appears and asks for the usual collar of dyed cedar-bark and a dance-apron. These are provided, put on him and his face is blackened. Under the guidance of a marshal or singer, the *ɬaɬaxiat* men beat furiously on the floor, without time or rhythm, until the leader motions them to conclude with four thunderous beats. In the stillness that follows X begins to chatter loudly, without using exact words, and everyone realizes that this is an invitation to guess who are the three supernatural beings in whom his power is localized. Some-[424] times the meaning is made still more evident by his carrying the stick previously mentioned, which is the prerogative of Mystery dancers alone. The guests enter into the spirit of the dance and call out their guesses, naming little known supernatural beings, parts of beings, or manifestations of the supernatural; sometimes three or four answer at the same time. The four remembrancers have placed themselves near X and it is their duty to recollect the replies. When *ɬaɬaxiat* alone

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This is such an important occasion that leading *kukusiut* from neighbouring towns are often invited to be present. If this is to be done, heralds are sent for the purpose during the following day.

Next evening the *kukusiut* are invited to X's house in the usual manner, many of them unaware that the answer is soon to be given. The customary ritual is carried out and the uninitiated summoned in due course. By this time X is supposed to have been weakened by his long fast, and to give colour to that claim, two assistants support him as he totters feebly to and fro in his enclosure. Instead of waving his stick horizontally above his head, X now rests his weight on it, with his helpers holding the ends. After the customary frenzied beating with sticks, X again invites guesses, but still no one can find the three answers. Meanwhile the father or some elderly friend of the youth chosen to guess correctly, slips down to where he is sitting and whispers to him to try, for example, *Aimaltus*. The youth timidly does so, and at once X begins to shake violently, and calls frantically:

"More! More!"

*575 *796 184

In Kimsquit, though not in Bella Coola, the long drawn-out whistling of *Snitsmān·a* is heard, though of course the uninitiated do not know that four *kukusiut* have been sent out for this purpose. The excitement becomes intense.

The man who is prompting the successful guesser whispers to him the second answer. The young man calls it out and X becomes more and more excited, shaking wildly and shouting:

"More! More! You mortal."

Finally the third answer is given. In Bella Coola the dancer leaps high in the air from his enclosure and falls to the ground beneath as if dead. *Saiyuās* of Kimsquit, on the other hand, whose patron is the wild *Kokoslum*, becomes frenzied, breaks his stick and enclosure and acts like a raging, though feeble, lunatic. Irrespective of X's behaviour, the marshals ask the uninitiated to withdraw, and the growling Cannibals add point to the request. It is at this juncture in Bella Coola

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[The Mystery Dance]

that the whistle of *Sxwixmán-a* is heard. The uninitiated, hearing the sound from the other houses, realize that the kindly being is approaching and are not surprised when a herald presently comes around to announce that X has recovered. In Kimsquit, X's frenzy slowly leaves him, and from this point onwards there are no differences in ritual between the two localities. The singers beat out a new song, prepared in readiness, of which the theme is *Sxwixmán-a*, "The Restorer." X dances to it, and afterwards to any four of the numerous songs previously composed for him. Then he sits down, the first time he has done so, in public at any rate, since the beginning of the rite. Food is next distributed, the marshals make their usual remarks and the *ẍaẍaxiut* finally go to bed. From this point on, the ceremony follows the regular *ẍaxiut* pattern; this occasion, when the riddles are solved, corresponds to *łaxłámem*. The successful guesser is dealt with as an initiate in the manner already described. Some of the uninitiated sitting near the youth often realize that he has been prompted by his father, but they regard this as a mere sign of solicitude, assuming that the parent's supernatural power enabled him to solve the problem. It seems clear to them that he could not have known the answer for any length of time because, like others, he had many times guessed and failed.

The next day is *naxnáłaxp*. In the morning all the *ẍaẍaxiut* assemble in X's house to learn another new song; this corresponds to the second of a dance which lacks the long preliminaries of this one. A number of *ẍaẍaxiut* accompany X to the forest to get the necessary wood for the masks. Mystery dancers have the right to exhibit any, and as many, supernatural beings as they please, hence a large amount of wood must be brought back. In the evening comes the allotment of work. X may do it himself, but usually he asks his father, or some other elderly relative to act on his behalf. Since all his relatives contribute, the actual distribution of labour is not a task in which X alone is concerned. *Ana'łáwulaxs* must be portrayed, and the three best carpenters are entrusted with

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[The Mystery Dance]

masks representing the three successful answers. Little attention is paid to actual design, and the workmen use their initiative to a considerable extent.[*] One mask always made is that of *Swaslaxwai*, a being who appears to act as concealer for *Alquntăm*. As far as could be learnt, if *Alquntăm* wishes to conceal anything from a human being, such as the hiding-places in a Mystery dance, *Swaslaxwai* is entrusted with the task. In addition to the usual well-known supernatural beings, X often orders representations of mammals, birds, or fish; he may even ask a man to make a mask without stipulations and then the finished product is as much a surprise to him as to anyone else. There is no relationship between the masks made and the guesses registered. If X is wealthy, the number to be constructed may run to fifty or more. *Nuxiutălxap* concludes in the usual way as soon as all the work has been allotted.

Two days is not long enough for the completion of such a large number of masks, so *nĕxaxam* must be postponed, and *qoiłom* is correspondingly delayed for four days. In the evening the heralds invite first the *ăuăxsiut* and then the eager, though fearful uninitiated. They take their places and in Kimsquit, not in Bella Coola, marvel at some of the masks hanging behind the fire, though no explanation is vouchsafed them until the following evening. Presently the singers begin to beat out one of X's songs and he starts dancing violently, only to stop long before it is ended. The musicians quickly change to another; he performs briefly, then ceases; this is repeated for a third tune, and similarly for a fourth, a fifth, and so on. If the preliminaries have been long drawn out, X may have as many as twenty songs and he dances to a fragment of each. After he has performed, the singers strike up the tune of any *ăuăxsiut*

[*] Possibly this disregard for exact portrayal of supernatural beings is a modern degeneration. The Bella Coola of today say quite frankly that they have forgotten many beings used by their ancestors, so have no hesitation in inventing new designs and naming them even for natural phenomena which they consider must be caused by supernatural agency. On the other hand, the burning of masks, which seems to be an old practice, would tend to insure correct identification in all but the best-known figures.

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has retired from sight. *Ano'lîkwoîsaix* gives her customary dance, her head bent as if she constantly wished to rest it on someone's shoulder, and her opposite arm waving violently. After one circuit of the fire she withdraws from sight behind the matting. Then the marshals tell the uninitiated to withdraw, and the growling Cannibals hurry them forth. The evening's ceremonials conclude in the usual way, except that the masks are not burnt.

The length of time required for the figures to appear and perform is so great that *nâuxam* can seldom be completed on a single night. When the marshals decide that it is too late for further drama, they can call a postponement at any time; the uninitiated are told to withdraw and the *kuêxsiut* disperse shortly afterwards. The following evening they are recalled and the ritual is carried on from the point where the break was made. In this account it has been assumed that it is possible to complete the display without postponement.

Four nights later everyone is called back once again. The *kuêxsiut* first take their places, and then the uninitiated are summoned. The ritual on this occasion is identical with that just described for *nâuxam* with the same promenade of supernatural beings and the same explanations by *Ano'lîkwoîsaix*. After the uninitiated depart the masks are burnt, two at a time, in the manner previously described, this being the last event in the Mystery Dance.

THE DANCE OF *Wînwina*

Nâêqnum is not, according to Bella Coola mythology, the only bringer of salmon to the river, nor is he the only one whose action has been dramatized as a *kuxiut* dance. A similar purveyor of fish is *Wînwina*[a] who comes every year to Bella Coola. Boas (p. 38) has recorded the origin myth connected with the rite, and states that the movements of this being influence the duration of the *kuxiut* season; this observation was not confirmed. *Wînwina* is supposed to return from the

[a] Also called *Xaxlemîlôtas*, "What Brings Our Food."

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land of the salmon early in January, and it is owing to his successful raid that there is a plentiful supply of fish the following year. The fact that the Bella Coola attribute the same function to *Nodzynum* provides no difficulties to native philosophers.

"Different individuals have different stories," they say, and the fact that the two are contradictory is a matter of no consequence.

The incidents described in the following myth are always spoken of as having taken place long ago, and yet the coming of *Winwina* is an annual event, a confusion disconcerting to the investigator though not to the Bella Coola themselves.

Winwina[192] once led a raiding party against the salmon, whose home is far to the west, and against the berries who live in a flat and warm country beyond even the land of salmon. His crew consisted of birds who are spoken of in the myth by unusual designations, said to be either their supernatural or their *kusiut* names. One informant spoke of these beings as individuals, and only added that they were birds as an afterthought, while another emphasized their avian rather than their human characteristics. This is not surprising, considering that the story belongs to the distant past when birds and human beings were not as clearly differentiated as they now are. *Winwina*'s crew consisted of:

The Bald Eagle, *Tcäkwak*;

The Hawk (*?*) species, *Anukiyakxaix*;

The Raven, *'Lnxwaqälaix*, "He Who Talks at Dawn and Wakens Everyone";

The Water Ouzel, *Thlämaxälska*, "The Walking One";

The Great Blue Heron, *Masanilion*, "Long Neck";

The Hermaphrodite, *Ala'yas*;

The Cormorant, *Kwakwäk'la*, who joined the expedition at Bella Bella as a passenger;

Four lazy supernatural beings, *Kamälälkl*.

The expedition was under the especial protection of *Kalaxts*, a female supernatural shaman, who guided the canoe in which the raiders travelled by the force of her intellect as if it had been a compass. After a lengthy journey, the party reached the land of the salmon where the clouds obligingly drifted low in the heavens so that the fish could not see their

[192] A word etymologically connected with *wins*, the Bella Coola term for *raid*.

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[The Dance of Winwina]

424 Another *kusiut* derived the prerogative of having *Winwina*
773 as patron from a myth previously cited (II, p. 43). After
776 Raven had seen *Noäkɣnɯm* and obtained him for *Älliłɯmnä-*
łoseix, he flew down the fiord once more, observed *Winwina*,
and made him patron for *Omqomkiłka*.

* 575 The ritual of the dance of *Winwina* does not vary, irre-
* 796 spective of its origin; accordingly one account will suffice and
the performer can be referred to as X.

[778] This dance occurs also at Kimsquit where the repository
[424] is actually in the ocean a few yards from shore.

[184] *Winwina* is supposed to return to Bella Coola when the January moon is full;[87] accordingly X consults the marshals and makes his preparations slightly before that date. Four days before the full moon, the uninitiated are excluded from the house and a raised enclosure is built between the fire and the back-room. This rite differs from most *kusiut* dances in that the call does not come at this time. Irrespective of whether or not the *kukusiut* happen to be present on the evening of this day, X mounts to the enclosure and sits there, looking westward for the return of *Winwina*. Heralds inform the uninitiated in the other houses of what is taking place. X
[292] wears a collar of dyed cedar-bark and a head-dress of eagle tail feathers, but his face is not blackened.

For three nights and three days X remains in the enclosure, gazing to the west, and meanwhile no uninitiated dare even to pass outside of his house. As the fourth night is falling, messengers summon the *kukusiut* who enter and sit in silence as if waiting for something; the heralds inform non-members that X's vigil will soon be over. After an interval they are likewise called in, and eagerly take their places near the door, where they receive a share of the food being served. Suddenly X jumps down from the enclosure and cries out loudly:

"The supernatural young man has left his child with strangers while he has been on a journey. Now he is returning,

[805] [87] Owing to faulty calendrical observations the exact date is seldom found.

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*575 *796 They dispute in this manner concerning the capture of every kind of salmon and even about the berries. *Ăno°likwolsaix* keeps up a running stream of comments to the uninitiated.

"Listen to the stupid *Kămălălkl*. That is what they did when they went with *Winwina*. They spent most of their time sleeping, and the rest of it arguing. Don't you be such silly fools as they are. Watch what you are doing, and you may be fortunate enough to see me in the woods and become a *kusiut*."

As soon as the uninitiated have watched these beings for a time, they are expelled and the ritual ends in the usual manner.

763 776 In conclusion, a word may be said regarding the attitude of the Bella Coola to *Winwina* and his canoe. Like all other supernatural manifestations it is capable of bringing good or evil to the beholder. An ancestor of every *Winwina* dancer must have seen it and obtained it as patron, but it is a dangerous visitor none the less. Sometimes, at night, a hunter encamped on one of the fiords hears a grunting sound accompanied by short paddle strokes; if he calls out "*yao!*" loudly, no harm will come to him, but if he omits to do so he will soon die. One informant affirmed that within his lifetime a party of Kimsquit hunters were waiting for high tide when they heard the grunting. They failed to hail the craft and presently a sound reached them as if a number of paddles had been placed in the water to check the course of a canoe; in fact, the ripples splashed on the shore at their feet. In a few years they were all dead.

THE DANCE OF MOTHER-NATURE

*575 *796 824 [184] [776] One of the most interesting of the Bella Coola dances is that portraying *Nunuoska*, who is virtually Mother-Nature, giving birth to the flowers and trees in the spring. The following account is of the manner in which *Kalăn·i*, a Kimsquit man, performed the rite. The ritual appears to be identical in Bella Coola, so only one account need be given, and the performer may be spoken of as X.

This dance can take place at any time during the ceremonial

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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natural, any of them can act in this capacity, though it is usually added that the animal in question is the one resident in the land above. One patron of this type is the ordinary river bull-head. It is said that long ago this fish wanted to follow his friends, the salmon, to the ocean, but was persuaded to remain in the river to act as nurse to their children in his house, the river bottom. Early in the world's history he objected to people exposing his dwelling, that is, pulling up the stones from the river-bed where he was wont to lie, and showed his resentment by sending a very cold wind. Ever since that time boys are not allowed to fish for bull-heads in winter. As far as could be learnt, this dance has no special features.

THE DANCE OF THE SUPERNATURAL HERRING-HEAD

One of the supernatural beings living in the land above who is patron for a certain *kusiut* is the head of a female herring. Little is known of this being, even her appearance is subject to doubt. For the *nebasam* of her protégé, a number of masks representing herring, as well as human-like beings, are prepared. When the uninitiated are present, one of the disguised figures calls to his fellows to bring their nets and capture the fish.

THE DANCE OF THE SUPERNATURAL DOG SALMON

Another fish dwelling in the land above is *Dakdakänus*, the supernatural dog salmon. He is patron of some *kusiut* but the ritual of the dance, known as *osnäxmunaix*, was not obtained. The similarity between *Dakdakänus* and *Dakdakänmem*, those who await *Noäkxnim*, appears merely to be an accidental resemblance in terminology, dependent upon a stem meaning "to come," or "coming." The significance of this in connection with the supernatural dog salmon could not be ascertained.

THE DANCE OF *Älmoqltaikila*

In Kimsquit it is believed that *Äno°likwolsaix* has a husband, *Älmoqltaikila*, who is patron for several *kusiut* dancers. His function is to restore to life any uninitiated who chance to

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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stumble upon a repository and are stricken down by his wife. Like a shaman, he does this by blowing violently upon the back of the victim's neck and calling out, *hoip*. From constant repetition his mouth has become large and round. When displayed on *nebusam*, the mask representing *Älmoqltaikila* is painted black and has bulging, blown-out cheeks, and a round protruding mouth as if in the act of blowing. Neither the dance nor belief in this figure appear to occur in Bella Coola itself.

THE DANCE OF THE SUPERNATURAL BARK-BEATER

In the land above there lives a supernatural woman who spends all her time in pounding cedar-bark such as is used, either dyed or undyed, for ceremonial objects of different kinds. Her name is *Spikpiknum di Sinxälotla* and she is patron for various *kukusiut*. On the *nebusam* of her Kimsquit protégés, she appears as a masked figure engaged in her usual occupation and makes a circuit of the house while a salmon is displayed. The relationship between this being and the salmon is problematical, and it is uncertain whether or not the same rite is practised in Bella Coola.

THE DANCE OF THE SUPERNATURAL AWAKENER

Every morning in *Nusqulxwaista* the woman *Spaixpaxnmän·a* goes around waking up the supernatural beings. She is patron for several *kusiut* dancers. On the *nebusam* of her protégé, a masked figure representing the Awakener goes to every house in the village and pounds on the doors, but does not enter, to the relief of the uninitiated who have sought refuge within the bed-rooms.

THE DANCE OF DAWN

Not only must the supernatural beings be aroused in the morning, but every day the Sun himself must be requested to appear; this is done by the beings known as *Xemxemtnum*, who are patrons for several *kukusiut*. On *nebusam* they appear and *Ano°likwolsaix* explains to the uninitiated who they are and

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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[The Dance of Dawn]

* 575 * 796 776 [532] what they do. With them comes the being *Onsitcitoma*, "The Sleeper," wearing a mask to represent a drowsy man who constantly yawns and rubs his eyes. It is explained that this being delights in sleep and does not care if the sun never rises.

THE DANCE OF THE GREEDY ONE

Nusixilcixaikum, also called *Tutwai·os*, is a greedy creature who spends his time going from one supernatural being to another in the land above, always begging for food. He is patron for several *kukusiut* and on the *nebusam* of one of his [532] protégés a masked figure representing the Greedy One visits every house in the village asking for food. The uninitiated retreat to the bed-rooms, but the *kukusiut* comply with his [431] request. In consequence the dancer's house is filled with food which is given away to the *kukusiut* guests.

THE DANCE OF THE REPOSITORY MAKER

[778] Some repositories were constructed in the beginning of time by the supernatural being, *Nunudjixnum*, who is patron for [532] several *kukusiut*. On the *nebusam* of one of his protégés a figure, masked to represent a male being, appears and *Ano°lik-wolsaix* explains that this is the maker of repositories. It is [184] uncertain whether this being is found in Bella Coola or only in Kimsquit.

THE DANCE OF *Älquntäm*'S SLAVE

In the land above there lives a slave of *Älquntäm* who spends his time providing fuel for the fires in *Nusqulxwaista*. He is patron for a Bella Coola *kusiut*, though the details of his dance were not obtained.

THE DANCE OF *Älquntäm*'S HERALD

Oqolikts Älquntäm is patron for several *kukusiut*. During the *nebusam* of one of his protégés a masked figure representing him visits every house in the village, bidding the *kukusiut*

2:McIlwraith E-9 (1922-1924) 1948
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they refer. Even when full allowance is made for this, the fact still remains that the *kukusiut* were able to carry out dances in which they deceived the uninitiated. Above all, it is clear that those who were not members of the society had the greatest respect for the powers of those who were, and although doubt may have existed concerning the identity of the supernatural visitors, there was not the slightest concerning the ability of the *kukusiut* to have, for example, their stomachs ripped open. The writer discussed this point with too many old men and women to have the slightest uncertainty on this point, and he feels confident that anyone who could have listened to the account of a reliable old man concerning his fears when he had "killed" a *kusiut* in this manner, would have shared his conviction.

It would be fascinating to discuss at some length the probable history of the *kusiut* society, but this would entail a comparison with the rites of other coastal tribes and belongs to the realm of comparative ethnology. This monograph deals only with Bella Coola practices as the writer saw them or heard them described, so that the history of the society can only be treated from this angle. It appears certain that the rites have increased in secrecy. One old marshal with whom the matter was discussed remembered having heard that long ago masks were constructed in the presence of the uninitiated. Considered as an isolated statement this would have little value, but in conjunction with information derived from Kimsquit it becomes of importance. It is true that in Kimsquit the masks are made in secret, but they are shown to the uninitiated as masks, and the writer was told of one instance in which *Tłoqots*, during his round of the village, fell into the water and remained there all day, to the amusement of non-members who recognized that he was merely a disguised human being. It is even said that long ago the manufacture of masks was entrusted to influential uninitiated. It is clear that there has been a tremendous increase in secrecy even at Kimsquit, and a great deal more at Bella Coola. The writer believes that

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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*575 long ago the *kusiut* society was composed of individuals re-
*796 garded as having supernatural endowments, and who perhaps
178 believed this themselves. In course of time their influence
increased to such an extent that they were able to convince
●184 non-members of the supernatural origin of objects used in their
[532] ceremonial.

Unfortunately, information from Kimsquit was obtained
[115] almost exclusively from one old man, who, though a marshal well informed in *kusiut* matters and in many ways an almost ideal informant, had long since realized that the dances could be nothing more than representations, and it is possible that his remarks were coloured by this knowledge. Though he tended to minimize the attitude of belief with which the un-
[781] initiated regarded masked figures, yet he fully agreed with every statement made by the Bella Coola themselves with regard to the firm belief of non-members concerning the supernatural powers of the dancers. He also confirmed statements
[688] respecting punishment if an error should occur, and mentioned the shooting of a Bella Bella dancer who had allowed his mask to fall during a *sisaok* dance. As far as actual ritual is concerned, the differences in procedure between Bella Coola and Kimsquit are unimportant, and differences in belief are less than they appear at first sight. The Bella Coola *kukusiut*
[781] seem to have perfected their organization and to have been able to impress the uninitiated to a greater extent than their Kimsquit fellows, but the fundamentals of the society are identical.

*575 Traditions concerning the early history of the society are
*796 probably of little value historically, but they are important as
173 indicating the mental attitude of the Bella Coola. Considering the importance of the society there are relatively few accounts of what took place long ago; the Bella Coola know that it exists, believe that the rites are identical with those carried out by their ancestors for generations, and theorize no further. It was only in the beginning of time that things were radically different; it is believed that then all the people were endowed

7:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1900 NE6 Bellacoola NE6

The Thunder-bird and his companions appear in the kō'siut ceremonial. When they enter the house, a dancer appears who carries an instrument in the shape of a bird-rattle (Plate XI, Fig. 7), which is provided with holes in its lower side, and has a loose back. This implement is filled with cedar-bark and eagle-down, and is shaken by the dancer. The eagle-down is thus made to fly about in the house, symbolizing the wealth and power of the Thunder-bird.

IV.

In the preceding pages I have summarized the principal features of Bella Coola mythology, which are characteristic of the traditions of the whole tribe. Besides these, there are other groups of traditions which are very conflicting. One reason for the existence of numerous contradictory traditions must be looked for in the peculiar social organization of the Bella Coola. In former times, when the tribe was populous, the Bella Coola inhabited a great many villages. The inhabitants of each village are considered the descendants of a number of mythical ancestors who were sent down by SEMX. Each of these village communities has traditions of its own, which are its property, and which are not well known to the rest of the tribe. Many of these traditions refer to the origin of our world, and for this reason a number of the most important myths differ in various villages. Indications of such conflicting ideas may be found in the traditions recorded in the preceding pages. To make this subject clear, it is necessary to describe somewhat fully the traditions belonging to a number of village communities. Before recording these traditions I shall enumerate the villages of the tribe. The following list is the result of repeated inquiries. In it the names and locations of the villages are given in consecutive order from the mouth of Bentinck Arm upward along Bella Coola River, and the names of the mythical ancestors of the village communities have been added where these have been ascertained.

VILLAGE.	LOCATION.	ANCESTORS.
1. Q'oa'LNA	At the bay of this name.	
2. Sx'Lia	At the entrance of South Bentinck Arm.	Tōtoxō'ns.
3. Nuxxe'q!	On North Bentinck Arm.	Szmsiutā'k!as, Nusqoa'-xlanē, Sx!ists, and their sister E'ns!'alans.
4. Pe'!axla	At the entrance of the valley opening on the north side of the mouth of Bella Coola River.	Stā'!tomx· Yuyō'lk", Mxntsi'!, Sisiā'L.
5. Atqla'xL	The present mission at the north side of Bella Coola River, near its mouth.	Isyō'yōl, Xēmxē'mtx-nem, Snuxnala'!s, and their sister !.uqai'tsta.

7:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1900 NEδ Bellacoola NEδ

them. Let the chief give them red cedar-bark." The people take small pieces of blankets, and sew red cedar-bark on to them in designs corresponding to the paintings on the faces of these deities, and they give these to the deities in order to appease them. Then they throw grease into the fire. During all this time É'xêm stands in the rear of the house; and when a painting has been finished, the man who offers it to the deity shouts, "Xêmxêmalá'ôɬla t'aix·tau'!" ("This is Xêmxêmalá'ôɬla.") And É'xêm sings, "Yayak·lamêts'êk·a wa k'waltɛnai'x·aL t'aix· tai'ya; aɬt'aɬ·'ô'mataxstôs nusk·asiôttstaai'x asɛlkulatôtita'ya." As soon as he has finished his song, a loud noise is heard on the roof, as though a heavy stone were falling down. E'xêm arises and performs a dance, while the noise of whistles is heard proceeding from him.

I am not familiar with the details of the ceremonial, and shall proceed to record the principal characteristics of the various societies. The Cannibal is initiated in the House of Myths by Bá'ɛxôɬla. I recorded above (p. 34) how a young man was initiated by this spirit, and how he was returned to his friends. The return of the Cannibal is accompanied by ceremonies similar to those recorded in this tradition. It seems that the ceremonies of the Cannibals of various families are much alike, each having a tradition of its own referring to the initiation. It is believed that all the Cannibals, during their initiation, go up to the sky. I was told that on this journey they have to take human flesh along for food. It is said that in former times the chiefs held a council the night preceding the beginning of the ceremonies, and any one who wanted to show his liberality offered one of his slaves to be killed in order to serve as food for Bá'ɛxôɬla. The offer was accepted, and a payment made for the slave. The latter was killed, and the members of the Bá'ɛxôɬla order devoured one-half of the body before the departure of the novice to the woods.

The spirit appears to the novice while he is in the woods, and takes him up to the House of Myths, where he is initiated. Early one morning he returns, and is heard outside of the houses. He has lost all his hair except a little in the median line of the head. It is believed that it has been torn off by the strong wind blowing in the higher regions. Some Cannibals do not devour human flesh, but tear dogs to pieces or devour raw salmon. The ceremonial consists in pacifying the Cannibal, and exorcising the spirit that possesses him. This is the object of the ·kū'siut ceremonial. After a Cannibal has returned, the people try to capture him. When he is first heard to approach, the speaker, whose face is painted black, and who wears a cedar-bark ring, and is covered with eagle-down, shouts, "Tix·ma'ts'ɛn tak·'axta'ɬiɬ tɛaɬ·ai'ôts'al. P'alx·ɛxtsalatstɛnai' tix·ma'ts'ɛn tasiswalô'ɬiɬ t'aɬ'aiôtat'ai'!" ("Arise, it may be our Cannibal. Awake!") The Cannibal is accompanied by four assistants, who are called Aɬiɬpa, and who from time to time utter